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THE
L I F E
OF
Baron Frederic Trenck.

VOLUME THE FOURTH,

AND MOST IMPORTANT.

Translated from the German.

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

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M,DCC,XCIII.

P R E F A C E.

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tens offence to the for-
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To A 3

P R E F A C E.

BOLDLY, and without dread of that danger which ever threatens offensive truths, the former three volumes of my history were made public. What would have had the appearance of romance in my life I passed over; and the unbroken narrative of forty-eight years sufferings would have filled a far greater number of pages, had I been animated by ostentation, or literary pride.

To satisfy the curiosity of every company was an insupportable task. In passing from one to another, contradictions, gaps, and false embellishments crept into my story. This determined me to write my own history; which has met with such approbation throughout Europe, that translations of it into nine different languages have been transmitted to me.

Affuredly I shall be pitied, when I declare, that booksellers and pirates alone have been enriched by it: I have had the honour, they the profit. For this reason I hope they who wish to read this fourth, and unquestionably most important volume, will

will be so good as to apply for it either directly to me at Hamburg, to Mr. Schniebes, the printer, at Altona, or to Mr. C. W. Meyer, bookseller, at Berlin. Malignant people have falsified the contents of the former volumes, and mutilated my work, in order to render me obnoxious to blame, and evil repute.

Hence I request the public to buy the original of this volume at least, to avoid imposition. Such is the nature of its contents, that in many places its publication will not be permitted, and on me it cannot fail to bring persecution. In countries where that is the case, it behoves people to apply directly to me, to receive copies with safety by the means I shall

adopt; as booksellers generally set a shameful price on prohibited books. Falsehoods most assuredly will not be found in this volume; but it is written with freedom. Why should whole nations never be permitted to know, what monarchs, or private individuals, wish to conceal from them? An honest man should write the biography of deceased potentates without reserve, for the instruction of the living. I have depicted the emperor Joseph as he actually was. Whilst under his government Brabant rebelled, Hungary prepared for revolt, and general discontent prevailed throughout almost all the provinces of his dominions: whilst the commence-
ment

ment of the reign of the truly noble-minded Leopold, and his art in setting bounds to the universal commotion, are certainly inimitable, and must eternise his fame, as he preserved Austria from infallible dismemberment: posterity shall learn the truth from at least one impartial historian, and receive the proper key to events so important. Such was my purpose, when I took up the pen to write this volume.

From these the present emperor, Francis, the worthy son of Leopold, and pupil of Joseph, will take example; choosing the good for imitation, and using the bad as a warning. He knows me well; he knows why I write in justification of myself, and of

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his truly great father. He is certainly no despot, who would suppress truths, that glimmer even amongst the writing of hired panegyrists, who can never wholly conceal what many men living have beheld, though few have followed all their windings, and traced them to their sources, and still fewer would venture to make them public, or decide on them openly. He is not ignorant of my exertions in Hungary to serve Leopold; he is conscious how much I contributed to the convention of Reichenbach: he is aware, that his father promised me, on the first division of the fiscal estates in the Bannat, some indemnification for part of the valuable hungarian estates I had

lost; but that he could never fulfil this promise, lest he should confirm the hungarian clergy in their suspicion, that I had done and written every thing with his private consent and approbation.

To him is well known also the mean revenge, that was taken of me unprotected, in Hungary, in october 1791; and for which I received no satisfaction, as death bereft me of him, from whom I had every thing to expect. His penetration, his noble princely sentiments, his humane mind, will, on reading this book, find a balm for my wounds, and give little credit to them, who, by taking it to pieces, will extract poison, reputing what appears to my disadvantage, and artfully

concealing the good, and that concatenation of causes which produced to me effects so injurious.

Princes like Francis, possessed of the feelings of humanity, and inclined to beneficence, require only to have the means of doing good indicated: probably, therefore, my children will obtain what I have sought under three monarchs to no purpose, namely, the favour of a judge who will inquire into my oppressions, investigate my rights, and make a report like an honest man. If this be done, I have not laboured, I have not suffered in vain. But should my enemies prove victorious, it was my duty, as a father, to justify myself to the impartial

public; boldly to face every danger, that threatens myself alone; and at length, wearied with cares and honest labours, to seek beyond the confines of the grave a righteous god; leaving to posterity an example how ought to act and write a worthy member of society, who like me has waded thro' the mire of this world, and learnt to know men and monarchs amidst the storms of fate.

With philosophic coolness and indifference I now await the term of my troublous life, steeled against every possible event; and in the last scenes of my tragedy will I sustain unchanged that character which I assumed in the first. If I be hissed in Vienna, elsewhere I am clapped. True critics

critics only know the actor's worth: the approbation of merry-andrews, slaves, drudges of the church, court-flatterers, or imbecile reviewers, have I never sought.

Three years ago I concluded the third volume of my history with my departure from Berlin for Vienna: and little thought I then, that a fourth would follow, as the remainder of my wintery days I had destined to domestic peace. But fate has not inserted my name in the page of rest: it has enrolled me in the number of knights errant, doomed incessantly to wander throughout the earth, without ever tasting the cup of fortune. When age has now silvered my locks I am exposed!

posed to events in this tumultuous world, in which I could take a willing part, were I in the ardour of youth, or the vigour of manhood; and my reason is obliged to exert all its powers, to restrain me from resolves, to which my restless activity would gladly impel me, whilst I have a fair opportunity to show the gods of the earth, what an honest man grossly injured, what an ill-treated victim of juridical courts, what one whom unfeelingness and persevering barbarity have rendered an avowed enemy to all arbitrary power, is capable of undertaking, is capable of carrying into execution.

This fourth volume, therefore, will be the most remarkable and
instruc--

instructive of my history, do honour to my moderation, soften the revengeful, gratify the curious, and demonstrate, that I have sacrificed my fortune, my parental duties, and my dearest inclinations, rather than sully these locks grown gray in probity, or expose the honour of my character to suspicion, on occasions where there was a single possibility of my being reproached with fickleness or forced uniformity.

The preceding volumes prove beyond contradiction, that I have been most shamefully the victim of a monarch's despotic power. But who would suppose it possible, that, under the reign of a Leopold, an arbitrary sentence of a minister or a judge could be executed

ecuted upon a man, who had served the state three and forty years like me? Yet this has been done; and I have lately extricated myself with honour, and publicly shamed my enemies.

Did ever defenceless subject obtain alone more glorious victories over the powerful hierarchy, and over the sovereign of three hundred thousand shedders of human blood, than I?

By the grave of Frederic, at Potsdam, I stood crowned with laurels, and the inexorable autocrat lay at my feet in the dust. I have beheld the period when an oppressed people dared to shake off the yoke with heroic bravery, and make their tyrants tremble:

I

I might have partaken in the glorious deed ; but, I refrained.

Before the door of my prison in Magdeburg I have seen grass growing ; and the justice of William converted it into a temple to my honour.

In Paris I beheld the Bastille, the tomb of virtue and freedom, taken and destroyed ; and the bloody head of its once omnipotent governor Delaunay born about on the point of a spit.

Members of the courts of justice of Vienna have I seen with the besom of the house of correction in their hands, counting their beads to obtain absolution for the villainies they practised against me.

I saw the most unlimited monarch in Europe deserted by all
his

his courtiers, supplicating the national cockade in the town-house of Paris. I saw princes pale with fear, and the favourites of a court trembling take flight, whilst firm and true patriots spurned despotic power. I saw the great partisan of unlimited authority, the emperor Joseph, depart this life as mean as possible, after having disgracefully repealed all the commands he had issued to his hungarian subjects.

What delight for an inquiring mind, that perceives things as they are, and could assist in spreading the flame it had contributed to illume, which had wonderfully purified the air from the fogs of slavery and the mists of prejudice ! Golden times ! to

Yours

your heroes will posterity erect altars of gratitude: and happy do I deem myself in seeing this epoch arrived, and being able from just data to predict its successful termination; if they, who have now the felicity of the people in their hands, do but remain honest disinterested men,

Never, as I have already said, did I think this fourth volume possible. Mere accident drew me from my village, and brought me lately on the great theatre of the world, where I found myself exhibited with applause, and had opportunity to act the most important part, that I could wish myself to perform.

True relations, capable of diffusing light, shall fill this volume.

lume. The bats may shriek, but the screech-owls will still brood quietly. I have inspected with an eager thirst of knowledge, examined with deliberation, and recited faithfully, without the least fear of giving dissatisfaction; though from personal circumstances I should have disguised or concealed many things, that may expose me to fresh persecution. But, habituated to conflicts, I neither retreat nor tremble where danger threatens, and the duties of a citizen require free disclosure. To name those, who by false information occasioned my last misadventure at Buda, which does little honour to the supreme military court for its precipitancy and despotism, was a justice I

owed

towed to myself. With all moderation, as the grossly injured party, I have written to those gentlemen, to acknowledge their hastiness, and at least acquaint the monarch with the truth: but their haughtiness, which would maintain their infallibility, has not allowed them to vouchsafe me an answer. The reports of the public papers had wounded my honour; whence it was incumbent on me to open the eyes of the world, deceived by false rumours, and appear before it in my true form.

Formerly personal offences were decided by sword and pistol. As a knight I would enter the lists, and expose my gray hairs to the combat, as cheerfully as

in

in the warmth of youth. But since the times are changed, and legislators have thought proper to suppress duelling, I come caparisoned in proofs and arguments, to make good my cause before impartial arbiters, and undauntedly await judgment, where every one may venture to speak truth, and give a just decision, without respect to rank or title. If these alone decide, I have relinquished the paltry title of major with honour, and Trenck's pen has well defended Trenck.

From rock to rock the chamois bounds,
 Nor heeds the chasm, that yawns beneath.
 The brave thus danger ne'er confounds:
 O'erleap'd the gulph, he grasps the wreath,

The

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The dastard, still withheld by fears,
Nought can achieve, nought can obtain,
Inglorious spends his youthful years,
Unnotic'd suffers age's pain.

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THE
L I F E
OF
BARON TRENCK.

Lege & pondera prudens!

I CONCLUDED the third volume of my history with my departure from Berlin, in august 1787, after the king had bestowed on me a pension of twelve hundred dollars*.

He, who has read the story of my fate, will not wonder, that I received this as a ballam for my wounds.

*About £220.

VOL. IV.

B

At

At that time I said, that my hereditary estate of great Scharlock, which had been confiscated, was restored to me: but this restoration never took place. I was too hasty in embracing a hope, that had every appearance of certainty; and must now relate the circumstances that frustrated the good intentions of the king.

In the year 1745, when I escaped from my prison at Glatz, Frederic the great, incensed against me, had permitted my hereditary estate to be sequestrated: and the governor, general Fouquet, with unheard of cruelty, let judgment pass by default.

As an honest man, I can declare before God and the whole world, that, immediately after my flight, I wrote to the king, from Bohemia, and prayed him to examine the justice of my cause. But I received no answer.

answer. In the mean time, whilst I was wandering about the Polish dominions, I was proclaimed in the gazette, if I may believe report, as a deserter; and was actually outlawed, and my property confiscated, whilst I was certainly so circumstanced, that no news-paper of Glatz or Berlin could come to my hands.

Consequently the judgment of Fouquet, in the absence of one of the parties, was without dispute false, illegal, and arbitrary, and can by no means be cited to my prejudice.

Had this judgment been deemed valid by the present monarch, I could never have shown my face in Berlin with honour during his reign: far less could I have been invited to the king's table, frequented the drawing room with an erect countenance, and publicly have taken an airing with the royal family. These cir-

cumstances are sufficient to annul the sentence passed at Glatz; by these therefore am I restored to my family rights.

But as the benevolent monarch referred me to his ministers, to see what could be done in my behalf, one of them discovered, that the restoration of my confiscated property would stigmatize the memory of Frederic the Great with an act of public injustice. He conceived it better, therefore, that the king should graciously bestow on me a pension, and neither annul nor confirm the judgment of the court of Glatz. The latter could not be, whilst the history of my life was published with license even at Berlin; and the former still less, as state prudence forbade it.

What could I do? My leave of absence from Vienna was nearly expired;

pired; and my friends advised me thankfully to accept the pension, which vindicated my honour, and to take a future opportunity of returning to Berlin, to solicit the cassation of the decree which confiscated my possessions, or to be indemnified for them by the gift of some equally valuable estate.

Still there is another obstacle in the way. Eight years after the confiscation, the king, on the petition of my two brothers, and feudal heirs, bestowed on them my estate, to be divided between them. The younger paid the elder the value of his part in ready money. Of these the former has died and left children; the latter is still childless, and in actual possession of the estate. I have neither right nor desire to take from him what was given him by the sovereign; and the heirs of our deceased brother

would not be by any means more ready to consent to it.

For redress then I should apply to those who gave away my estate, in direct violation of the feudal rights established in the country, which were thus annihilated with respect to my guiltless offspring. I am now justified, and my innocence is publicly acknowledged ; yet have I suffered ten years imprisonment. Frederic gave me at length my freedom : but he gave me not back my estate. Thus my punishment was double.— Now let me ask—who is to indemnify me ? He, certainly, who generously received me again in Berlin as an honest but ill treated man ; the politics of whose minister advised him not to annul the decree, that confiscated my estate, out of regard to the honour of Frederic the Great, but to indemnify me in some other way.

Has

Has this been done by a pension of twelve hundred dollars?—Certainly no.—For not only has my estate, which lets for five thousand prussian florins*, never been restored to me, but it is also for ever lost to my children.

It was confiscated in the year 1746. Its rent, up to the present year, 1792, would amount to two hundred and thirty thousand prussian florins† principal money, without reckoning interest. Not a farthing of this have I received, and my pension amounts not to the interest of this sum. I am now an old man, and have little prospect of enjoying even this pension long: and when I die I shall not have the consolation to leave to my heirs what my fore-fathers have possessed in Prussia for these three cen-

* About £375. † About £17250.

turies, and transmitted to me unimpaired, that I might in like manner transmit it to my descendants. Let an impartial world decide, whether I have reason to be quiet and content.

True it is the present king owes me nothing : by him I was never oppressed. But he acknowledges the injustice done me in the former reign. The exchequer of Frederic took from me my estate : the exchequer of William should restore it to me again. Yet this has not been done. The pension, I own, does me honour : but it fetters me in my undertakings, and renders me suspected at Vienna, as no man can serve two masters.

This, and no other, is the true state of the case. To the king I am not unthankful. His desire to give me satisfaction was good ; and the feelings of his heart were certainly noble.

noble. With his own eyes he beheld my sufferings in Magdeburg, and was aware of the source from which they undeservedly flowed. Should any honest man in Berlin read these lines, let him say to the king, that there is still opportunity to indemnify me, or my children, by some other seigneurial estate. This would not impoverish his treasury; and all who have read my history, who know my zeal for him, would unite with me in honouring his name. As for the minister who withheld his beneficent hand, I wish that he may find for the service of his country many men of my stamp, and know better how to reclaim them, and bring them to his lure.

I had now nothing more to do in Berlin. Having an opportunity, however, of acting as a true german patriot, though during the course of

three and forty years I had met no reward, or favour, or justice in Vienna, I made an attempt to bring about an alliance between the two courts: for I knew that, unless a good understanding between them were secured, no durable peace could be expected, either for those powers, or for the other german states. Prince Reuss, the imperial ambassador, wished it from his heart; and the first steps I took were so fortunate, that by means of some conferences which I brought about between him and the minister, count Hertzberg, the preliminaries were drawn up, and actually dispatched to Vienna: but no answer was returned. Prudence alone withholds my pen, otherwise could I here disclose to the world a species of ministerial cabal, at which every honest man must shudder.

Some

Some future day, perhaps, I shall discover the truth, when my situation will permit me so to announce it, that every patriotic German may read, and know it*. Let it suffice, for the present, that pride, or envy, hurt at the idea that an untitled individual without credentials should effect more than ministerial wisdom could accomplish, frustrated the whole of my scheme.

I now hastened to Vienna; had an audience of the emperor; spoke to him as on such occasions I am accustomed to speak; and what was the consequence?—Nothing for the state: nothing for myself. I folded my arms, and remained at court unnoticed. Joseph had then no doubt but that with his three hundred

* Towards the end of this volume the baron again speaks of this circumstance a little more at large. T.

thousand invincible warriors he should find Berlin an easy conquest. I shrugged my shoulders when he told me so. At Berlin caballing against me soon began ; for men like me must be banished from the confidence of kings. My friends wrote me word of this, and I answered.

Mens sibi bene conscia, famæ mendacia ridet :

“ The mind conscious of rectitude despises lying report.” Though ingratitude on all hands be my reward, never shall I repent a noble action. But I shall not attempt the like again : in future I shall remain indifferent to both courts. This is the sole revenge I shall take of little minds, that parade the drawing room proud of ribands and titles, yet must blush with shame when their eyes meet mine.

In Vienna I now enjoyed that triumph,

triumph, which an honest man always obtains over those who can stoop to base actions. I could carry my head erect, whilst the well known history of my life had made many tremble, had filled many with shame, and had convinced the numerous band of petty tyrants of the law, that I wanted neither courage nor opportunity to strip off the mask from every enemy to virtue, and hold him up to public scorn. As skulks the rapacious vulture at sight of the eagle soaring over his head, and shudders, and quits the helpless dove, lest himself should be pounced : so slunk before me my Vienna foes, after two of their respectable colleagues were forced to sweep with a bridewell besom the streets of that city, in which they had long with impunity disgraced the honourable seats of justice, steeping

in tears the cheeks of innocent men, who durst not call by their proper names villains so high in credit. I alone had ventured it, and had attacked the nest of hornets without fear. I had depicted them openly in my writings, before they had been condemned to public punishment as a warning to others. Hence they who were conscious to themselves of deserving a similar fate, feared lest I should find occasion to make their names equally notorious. But my temper is not revengful : when their sovereign judge thinks fit to punish them, and to purge his courts of such vermin, they will be sufficiently known without my intervention.

In the mean time I have had the satisfaction of receiving the thanks of two referendaries.—I asked one mean, shameless wretch for what he thanked me.—He called me a gene-

rous man, whom he had persecuted without knowing, and thanked me for not having mentioned his name in my writings.—The other was baron Waldstedten. Is it possible to enjoy greater satisfaction?—May all such, who become wealthy by being the pandars of their wives, whilst their shoulders profane the sacred robes of justice, be obliged to relinquish the latter to men of honour, and proudly parade their golden hinds, with splendid equipages, before the eyes of a just public, knowing and despising them as I do.

Peace at least I now found; and I was left free from attacks. In many countries it is well for a man to make himself feared, and to evince, that there still exist persons capable of boldly waging war with little men in great offices. True it is I was styled
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a restless mortal, and a singular being: yet that restless mortal was every where received with honour; and cheerfully will I submit to be deemed singular by those who estimate a man's worth only by the weight of his purse, or the degree of favour in which he stands at court. Gellert says:

A prince's favour dost thou proudly boast?
 Say, is not merit's value on him lost?
 Stript of his title, would his praise be fame?
 Would it not stamp disgrace upon thy name?

If I could be a friend to mankind, and act according to the dictates of justice, in a place at court, to me the disgrace would be, not to want, but to fill it: he who knows and feels his own dignity will be sought after, and need no patron. The meanspirited candidate for court favour fawns or worries himself

self into notice, deceiving all who trust him, or who are incapable of reading mankind. The patriot and man of honour remains quiet in his village, and chooses and acts as I have chosen and acted.

I now hastened to Zwerbach, and till november 1788 remained at rest in the bosom of my family. At rest I remained, but not in idleness; for the father of eight children, who educates them himself, and has sons in the army, unable to support the character of officers on their bare pay, wants not employment; especially if he have to fill up old gaps made by agents, attorneys, counsellors, and other gentlemen of the long robe.

In november I undertook a new journey to Berlin, once more to try what could be done in my behalf. Here I perceived in the space of a
single

single year so many changes, so many cabals contesting together, and so many causes militating against my undertaking any thing, that I deferred my design till some more favourable opportunity. His majesty, however, I found disposed to serve me; and indeed he granted me every thing, that, as affairs were circumstanced, I thought proper to ask. Even esteem was not denied me at court, or by the ministry.

On leaving Berlin I went to Schildberg near Soldin, to my niece von Waldow, took my youngest son, whom I had left the year before to prosecute his studies with her children, and carried him to Dessau, where I left him to be educated at the *Philanthropeia* as it is called.

From Dessau I set off for Dresden. There the prime minister, count Marcolini, showed me a mark of distinction

tion and a civility rare in Saxony, coming to me himself to the inn, conducting me to court, and presenting me to the electoral family : and I must confess, that in general every possible honour was paid me at Dresden. The marketplace, where I dwelt, was constantly crowded, and wherever I went the people followed me with loud acclamations.

On my journey I paid my respects to Charles of Saxony, duke of Courland, at Elsterwerde. Here also I was graciously received ; as I was by the reigning prince of Dessau, whose little territory is one of the happiest in Europe.

Hence I repaired to Konigstein, to visit the worthy old general count Solmes. He knew of my coming, and, notwithstanding the rain, came down to the foot of the stupendous rock to meet me. With a hearty
embrace

embrace he gave me that look which at first sight eternally rivets two noble minds. Happy day ! that permitted me to enjoy the pleasure of obtaining the friendship of one of the noblest of soldiers, of an old man loved and honoured by all. We spent only a single day together : that day, however, was well filled up with conversation. At parting the tears fell from our eyes, and each of us exclaimed within himself : ah, were we not so near the grave !—If it be permitted me to see him once more in this world, I certainly will not fail again to visit Königstein.

This vast rock is not a fortress, that an enemy must subdue before he can conquer Saxony. It contains but a small garrison, incapable of making a sally ; and serves only to secure the records of the country, and prisoners

soners of state. Konigstein is the Bastille of Saxony ; in which many a brave man has pined out his life in durance.

When I was there, parts of the rock were blown up to form casemates. In doing this was found a dungeon bored in the solid stone to the depth of sixty fathoms. At the bottom of this dungeon appeared a bedstead, on which a skeleton reposed, and by its side the remains of a dead dog.—Mournful sight for a heart possessed of the feelings of a man. How savage the tyrant, that can invent such tortures for his fellow-creatures, and can lie down on his pillow, conscious, that in a hole like this a man is slowly consuming the lamp of life, feebly supported by vain hopes of his compassion ! Even now the walls of this prison confine three

three persons not unworthy of notice.

One of these was private secretary to the court of Saxony, and in the year 1756 betrayed the secrets of the Dresden archives to the king of Prussia. He was taken in Poland; and has now been four and thirty years in a dungeon:—he still lives—but his appearance is more that of a wild beast than of a man.

Another is one colonel Acton. He who is acquainted with the secret history of Dresden will remember the horrid poison scheme, which was detected, but was thought proper to be kept secret. Acton was the chief in this conspiracy. He was by birth an Italian; possessed a calabrian heart; was a bold and handsome man; and was the favourite of the dowager electress.—This is a sufficient key to his history for those
who

are desirous of knowing what is become of Acton, who has still many friends in Dresden, and enjoys more liberty than his fellow prisoners. Where he is, however, he must die: but he is a great villain, and cannot accuse his imprisonment of injustice.

The third is a fine young Swede. Six years ago he was arrested at Leipzig, at the private request of the king of Sweden, and brought to Konigstein in a mask. When he was taken he defended himself like a lion, claiming his right to be protected by the laws of nations. This man is excluded from the light of day. No one sees him; no one speaks to him. And on pain of death no one must know what his name is, who he is, or that he is there. From what I could learn, he is no criminal; he has had no trial; but
some

some state or love intrigue at the Swedish court has brought on him this fate. Pity him, reader! he has no deliverance to hope but death: for the elector has promised the king of Sweden, that he shall never more behold the beams of the sun. He is now under thirty years of age, and the worthy governor cannot speak of him without the tear of compassion in his eye: he shrugs his shoulders, looks up to heaven, and says:—it is the elector's *order*, and I must obey. God help him.—

It is not difficult to divine what passed in my mind at the thought of such a victim, when I could only cast a distant look at the grave where the unfortunate being sighs for deliverance. There is then a Bastille even in the humane country of Saxony, the sovereign of which has a heart

heart possess of the noblest feelings!—

But patience, unhappy Swede! When I lay in the Bastille of Magdeburg, the mighty Frederic the great said—whilst my name is Frederic, Trenck shall never see day.—Yet circumstances so fell out, that he himself set me free; after which he lived three and twenty years, and still bore the name of Frederic. Every prison has an entrance; and who can tell but that this Swede may find an exit also. When the Bastille was destroyed, a man was liberated, who had daily bedewed its stones with his tears for forty years, for having written in the thoughtlessness of youth a satire on a court strumpet, madame Pompadour*. It is a horrible thing, that
any

* This account, we believe, is not strictly
C accurate

any one may intercede for a criminal condemned by the laws ; but for a prisoner of state no one must speak, no one must endeavour to mitigate his doom. Dreadful reflection for every honest citizen, who, when he hears such a story, cannot help thinking—to day it is thy turn ; to morrow perhaps mine, if some ministerial cabal be formed against me, or my gracious sovereign be persuaded to an undue stretch of authority.

Happy the people, that know how to oppose an everlasting barrier to the exertion of arbitrary power ! * Here

I must

curate. We imagine the author refers to Henry Maseres de la Tude, an account of whose life is published. He was detained five and thirty years in prison on account of a youthful imprudence relative to madame Pompadour ; but he was released some time before the taking of the Bastille. T.

* Does not the baron allude to our habeas corpus

I must draw the curtain.—Pity the goodhearted governor, who dares not in the least degree alleviate the sufferings of the victim committed to his charge.—My blood curdled when departing I cast an eye back on the grave of a living being: and when I recollected, that I too was in Konigstein, I looked forwards with terror, lest the door should be shut on me likewise. With a heavy heart I returned to Dresden; it was full when from afar I looked back upon the rock; yet I rejoiced that I was neither prisoner nor keeper there.

My design was to return immedi-

pus act? That, however; has been suspended: but can any circumstances justify its suspension? Is not the precedent, particularly if repeated, big with danger to our liberties? danger, with which the trifling benefit to be expected from its suspension can by no means be put in competition? T.

ately to Vienna. I had already heard, however, at Berlin, that I was almost idolized in Paris: that every man in France had read my history: that all the new fashions there were *à la Trenck*: that almost every night I was exhibited on the Parisian theatre, to crowded houses, as a martyr of arbitrary power: and that a frightful figure of me, as large as life, was publicly shown for money. All this was confirmed to me by a friend at Dresden, who persuaded me to go to France, to gather my laurels. This I soon resolved on, and I hastened thither. At Frankfort, through which I had many times in my life passed unnoticed, I was now looked on in a very different manner, and was received with triumph, as my sufferings had been felt for, since my life had been read.

Feasts and balls were given me.

The

The whole town was in motion ; and so much love and esteem were shown me, that I never shall forget the pleasure I enjoyed there, and cannot refrain from here offering the kind inhabitants my hearty thanks.

I now repaired to Strasburg, and in every town upon the road I met the same honours.

In Strasburg I saw at once, that I was fallen amongst a people endued with sensibility. The concourse to see me was general. I was overwhelmed with civilities. Balls and feasts were given in honour of me. All the beauties of the town appeared in full lustre : they surrounded me ; and every dancer turned me with his partner. In short, no man upon earth was ever better welcomed, more kindly treated, or more courteously received, in so populous a town.

Count Flaxland, the governor, invited me to accompany him to the play. The piece announced for performance was *Baron Trenck*; but the police countermanded it, at my request, to prevent tumult, as the people had already crowded me almost to death.

We entered the French Theatre with some of the first ladies of the place. Scarcely had I taken my seat in the box, when the orchestra welcomed me with drums and trumpets, and the pit with clapping and shouting *vive le baron Trenck!* "long live baron Trenck! I was now obliged to come forward, and thank the people.

After staying about an hour, we went to the German Theatre; where I experience the same honours.

The evening closed with a ball, and from the mouths of the finest women

women I was gratified with the most charming impromptus. At supper songs made in honour of me were sung. I can say with truth, that my fortune was indeed enviable; nor could I repent my ten years imprisonment at Magdeburgh, as it in reality led the way to my present enjoyments. Having remained a week with these noble friends, with a heart oppressed with gratitude I quitted Strasburg, which I never shall forget, and where I actually fancied myself in the paradise of Mohammed, so many divine beauties smiling on me with melting eyes, and expressing with every look that they wished the renovation of my youth.

Happy the man, who shall feel these like me, when age has silvered his locks! Yes, in this splendid city, I truly felt, that one such a day as I enjoyed there was well worth not

only a wish to live, but even to suffer the greatest misfortunes, if by them such a reward could be obtained.

Quitting Strasburg with regret, I posted on to Paris. In Nanci a thousand people had expected me for two days, and the receivers of the tolls at the turnpikes had taken much money by way of presents, that they might make my arrival known. I slipped through, however, in the dusk, when nobody expected me. As vanity is not my foible, I can declare, that my present journeys, in which I am generally sought after, observed, and importuned, are not pleasant to me.

In the middle of february I arrived at Paris; where, at different periods of my life, I had already been five times, wholly unnoticed. I was advised not to make my appearance at public places, lest I should be surrounded.

rounded and obstructed from the curiosity of the people. The whole city had seen, pitied, and admired me at Curtius's; who had exhibited me as large as life, in my chains, together with Frederic the Great, at the Palais royal. Two plays had been written with the title of Baron Trenck, that for three months had been performed almost daily. One of them was particularly calculated to promote a spirit of revolt against unlimited monarchical power, as it tended to excite in the audience first compassion, and thence led them to a desire of vengeance. It was performed too in such a manner, that it could not fail of awakening in the heart those emotions, which, at that critical period, the people were wished to feel.

Thus all Paris was for the most part prejudiced in my favour; and,

by means of my history and of the stage, the name of Trenck was generally known. The wish to be actually convinced, that this Trenck was still alive, had ever lived, or was not the mere hero of a romance, was so prevalent, when I personally visited Paris, that no one but an eye-witness can conceive how eagerly every one pressed to discover to me the whole feelings of his heart, as it had been affected by my fate. And this was not the thirst of novelty alone, which is commonly satiated in three days: for I remained six months in Paris, and to the moment of my departure I experienced the same love and esteem as at my arrival seemed carried to excess.

The day after my coming curiosity led me to visit incognito the Palais royal, where Mr. Curtius was exhibiting me in wax to the people. I went
up

up to him, and said:—sir, I saw baron Trenck himself a few years ago, and I perceive this figure no more resembles him than it does the great mogul.—He looked at me with a mixture of surprize and contempt: and assured me, on his honour, that he well knew baron Trenck personally, and that he had modeled the face of his figure from the baron himself at Frankfort.

I said nothing before the company, but took him aside into another room, and discovered myself.—The poor fellow was ashamed and frightened; offered in excuse the artifices of people of his profession to gratify the curiosity of the public; assured me, that he had gotten a great deal of money by me; that he had sent a similar figure to London with the same view; and prayed me to favour him with half an hour's sitting, that he

might copy my real face. This request, however, for sufficient reasons I did not think fit to grant. The original being now at Paris, the figure would no longer answer the purpose of Mr. Curtius in that city; so it was conveyed to Madrid, there to procure him money afresh.

Scarcely had I been three days in Paris, when all the city knew it, and I received visits or invitations from all the people of consequence in it. Ladies too came, excited by curiosity to see me. I had no resource but to follow the stream, and to spend the whole day till midnight in company. Wherever I dined, or supped, all the friends of the family were invited, that they might have a sight of me; and after meals the company crowded round me with the same view. Thus in six days I was generally known; and for the whole six months

months I was actually persecuted, having engagements on my hands for a month to come. Every dinner was a feast. In most houses the desert was enriched, in honour of me, with allusions to my imprisonment and adventures, with triumphal arches and laurel crowns. The ladies sung airs composed in honour of me, and presented me with laurels. Sometimes the scene was so affecting, that the whole company shed tears. I myself wept at the first sensations of joy and gratitude. The conclusion was a general embrace, expressive not of curiosity gratified, but of the emotions of the heart.

Thus flowed my days amidst the tumultuous noise of the great world, and with such marks of honour and friendship, as certainly no foreigner, like me, ever before received in France. No martyr to the freaks of
fortune

fortune ever survived, and enjoyed greater rewards than I. To obtain the universal love and unbounded confidence of a people, and the lasting friendship of a nation always deemed capricious, is a singular phenomenon in my case, and would render me vain, could I entertain so ridiculous a passion as vanity. In all companies the chief place was commonly ceded to me. And as in France the ladies stamp a man's current value; as my natural cheerfulness was wonderfully pleasing to those who expected to find in me a superannuated morose old fellow, a misanthropist soured by misfortune; as I still showed myself a pleasant companion, and was not incapable of rendering myself agreeable to the fair sex, by those bon mots and smart repartees so prevalent in french conversation; my reception was the
more

more favourable and more general.

Count Olivadez, who lived at Paris by the name of count Pilo, was one of the first with whom I dined. This worthy old gentleman came himself to fetch me, and carried me in a kind of triumph to his palace, where I was received with drums and trumpets, and with vocal and instrumental music composed expressly for him and me.

The count was a grandee of Spain, one of the first men in that kingdom, possessed estates to the amount of three millions a year, and is well known in modern history. He procured from Germany, at great expence, several families, whom he settled comfortably in Spain, with a view to augment the industry and population of that country. Amongst these, however, some were protestants. The count was wealthy, power-

powerful, and a friend to mankind. This was enough for the inquisition. His house was searched, Voltaire's works were found in his library, he was dragged before the holy tribunal as a delinquent, was condemned and tortured, his property was confiscated, and he lay four years in a wretched prison, treated like the vilest criminal, without the least hope of ever recovering his liberty.

His history, which he related to me truly, deserves to be made known to the world. In it would be found things that must excite horror and detestation for the order of St. Dominic, and the lamentable state of Spain : but I have not here room for it. I shall only say, that the count found means to escape out of the execrable talons of the inquisition. The king himself could not save him, but he luckily fled to Paris with the

loss of a property of sixty millions. Fortunately, some years before his disaster, he had placed in the French funds a capital, the interest of which brings him about eighty thousand livres a year: thus he has enough left, being childless, to live in Paris as a philosopher in a state of quiet and respectability, under the name of count Pilo.

When a man who has felt the lash of misfortune reads the history of another equally unfortunate, there arises in his mind a certain sympathetic desire to know him personally, reciprocally to compare their fate, their evils, their escapes, their grounds of consolation. This Olivadez felt for me: on this account he sought me, and heartily solemnized the day of our meeting, when we both found reason highly to value each other, and to esteem ourselves as raised
some-

somewhat above the common level of mankind. He was the innocent victim of the holy inquisition, an infamous tribunal assuming the mask of religion; as I was to the state-inquisition of a monarch, as unmerciful as a *father inquisitor*. We were both remarkable for having found means of rendering impossibilities possible. We have risen victorious over our powerful enemies; we are free; and, thank God, we have lost nothing but our possessions. Even now I bless the day that brought me his acquaintance and his friendship; and wish, that we, that we both, had enjoyed the happiness of seeing the destruction of the Bastille; and that we could also have learnt at least, if not contributed to the annihilation of every bloody private tribunal, whether of church or state.

Olivadez was my friend in Paris;
to

to his death I honoured him; and ever shall I be the determined enemy of all those beaded and becowled rascals, who could persecute such a worthy citizen. He died last year, but not before he had shown me the scars of those wounds which had been inflicted on him by implements of torture in the dungeons of the inquisition. Gracious God! what is a monk, where his power can rage uncontrolled! How little knows the world, even now, of those unfeeling monsters! and how just is my zeal, when I seize every occasion to unmask them!

I have now to relate another adventure, that does honour to the national character. I dined with the imperial ambassador, count Mercy. The company was large. Next me sat a worthy old general, of the corps of engineers, who did not know me,

me, and who conversed with me a considerable time. After dinner he asked who I was. Scarcely had he been told my name, when he ran to me, and embraced me with enthusiasm: his heart was full, and, overpowered by his feelings, he sunk motionless in my arms. The scene was affecting to every bystander. All present thought we had been friends in youth, who had accidentally met in our old age. I myself was astonished and delighted.—The old general came to himself, and wept for joy, at having obtained in this world the sight of a man, of whom, from reading his history, he had entertained so high an idea. He took me by the hand, and I was obliged to accompany him home, when he retired to bed, and to spend with him the whole of the next day, to satisfy all his inquiries. We are now friends,

friends, who mutually esteem each other; and let me here ask my reader, whether he ever suspected, that a Frenchman was capable of such noble feelings for a native of Germany.

I was now strongly importuned to go to the theatre, to see myself represented on the stage. Desirous as I was of this, prudence forbade me. I was aware, that I should meet with the same reception here as at Strasburg. In the piece that bore my name the Great Frederic gathered no laurels; and as I was in general strictly observed, I would not give my enemies an opportunity of charging me with excess of pride, as it might have been imagined, that I had gone for the purpose of receiving public applause.

Twice the manager had given out, that I should be at the theatre on a certain

certain day. The concourse was so great, that double prices were paid for places in the pit. I did not make my appearance, and this had nearly occasioned a riot. At length, after I had been five months in Paris, I suffered myself to be prevailed on by a large company, and went with them to the play. The clapping was incessant. From every quarter resounded *vive le baron Trenck!* “Long live baron Trenck!” At the end of each act, I was obliged to come forward, and thank the people for the reception they gave me. At going out, I and my company were so crowded, that I could scarcely get to my coach; and, when it drove off, I was saluted with loud huzzas.

The first two months I durst not venture to be seen in the Palais royal. At last I went thither, and walked
up

up and down unknown and unnoticed. Some of my acquaintance met me, accosted me, and introduced me to a very fine woman just arrived from Normandy. Scarcely had my name been mentioned, when the people crowded round me from all sides. I slipped into a house in time, and went out at another door. The lady, however, was almost pressed to death. It was whispered about, that the handsome lady was my wife: she was surrounded, and actually suffered much before she could reach her carriage.

At length, as I appeared in public every day, I was accustomed to spend many hours that I could spare in the Palais royal, where the foundations of the whole révolution were then laying. Possessed of the confidence of the whole nation, it was easy for me to learn every thing I

wished to know. I particularly frequented the club, or the meeting of dutch and brabantine patriots. These held their private meetings, debated, and every two months dispatched confidential deputies to Brussels and Amsterdam: and, as they were greatly interested in the revolution then secretly fermenting at Paris, and spared no money to know exactly what was going on at Versailles, their society afforded me the best opportunity of gratifying my curiosity.

Sometimes I spent a few days at Versailles, where I passed my time very pleasantly in the greatest intimacy with the real court party, though I occasionally preferred the society of some of the most prudent members of the states-general, then assembled there, and was so happy as to enjoy their friendship. Thus
had

had I opportunities of diving to the bottom of every thing that was contriving by either party; and could almost foresee and point out the very day, when the event that was preparing in secret would burst out into operation. On this account I would willingly add to the present volume a circumstantial detail of the parisian and brabantine revolutions, in separate narratives; but they will probably follow in a distinct work, in which my readers will see the naked truth, placed in a just light, without any partiality.

I was presented at court by the imperial ambassador, count Mercy. On this occasion I must say something, that will appear laughable to those who are unacquainted with the etiquette of the french court. The king must not speak a word to any foreigner, who is presented

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to

to him by an ambassador, through his minister. At the same time it is next to an impossibility to obtain a private audience of him. This is probably an old ministerial artifice, to prevent the king from hearing what he ought to know. Now Trenck had been a common topic of conversation for some months; and I had been assured, that the king, who never in his life read a book, had ordered my history to be read to him, had been moved by it in my favour, and wished personally to see me. When I was presented to him, he stood still for at least two minutes before me, surveyed me with attention from head to foot, smiled graciously upon me, went to the door, returned again, came up close to me, surveyed me as before, smiled again, gave me a token of his favour by a slight inclination

clination of his head, and then went away, after looking back at me when he came to the door.

Now was I at once surrounded as by a swarm of bees, and all testified their joy on seeing me at court. I was next presented to the queen and royal family, and afterwards dined, with all the foreign ministers, at count Montmorin's, whose amiable lady gave me the first place at her side, as a mark of particular distinction. As the imperial and prussian ministers behaved to me with great familiarity on this occasion, it added not a little to my consequence with those who had read my history, in which I had depicted the behaviour of their respective courts to me in no favourable colours. This to my credit also sealed the truth of my account, and

added to the esteem shown my person.

One baron Bock had just published a history of my life, in French, in two small duodecimo volumes, and had sold several thousand copies. This was in reality nothing more than a brief abstract of it. Soon after appeared at Paris what was called a new translation, in three small volumes, which was ascribed to Mr. Tourneur. The publishers of both were very successful, but neither had much resemblance to the original.

These having been eagerly purchased and read, many asked me if the translations were faithful, and complete. To this I could not avoid saying no : when I was assailed on all hands, to set about a translation myself, and publish an edition in my own name. The prospect was
good

good, and every body assured me, that I could not fail of selling ten thousand copies in France. Thus I undertook an herculean task, living as I did, the whole day and half the night spent in the tumult of the great world. It was resolved on however, and within two months I was ready with three octavo volumes. To ornament this edition, I procured ten copperplates to be engraven by the best masters, and the expence of the work amounted in the whole to near sixteen thousand livres. A considerable profit no doubt was to be expected; but unfortunately I could not get it ready till three days before the revolution: and now every one was fully occupied in reading the immense number of pamphlets, daily issuing from the press, to excite the people to revolt. Delay abated the ardour

of that curiosity which had been raised on my account, and the great change in the state led men to find more important employments for their time, than that of gratifying it.

Thus had I two thousand copies on my hands, which, at fifteen livres each, would have brought me tenthousand crowns. In this way Fortune showed me her malice in the metropolis of France; but, compared with those turns which I had been accustomed to receive from her, this was a mere trifle.

On my arrival at Paris, I found there prince Henry of Prussia; who showed me, as he had done at Berlin, that he thought me not unworthy his esteem. Now on a sudden appeared the detestable work of count Mirabeau, under the title of *Correspondence secrete d' un Voyageur Français*

Français, in which the prussian monarch, prince Henry, and the whole of the prussian ministry, were abused in the most scandalous manner. It is true, it was publicly burnt by the common hangman, at the command of the parliament; yet, though the author, printer and publisher, all of whom then resided at Paris, were avowedly known, not the least inquiry after them was made, not a single individual was punished, and the book still continued to be sold in every shop without obstruction.

Prince Henry, who was chiefly concerned in it, beheld this proceeding with the contempt it deserved: at the same time he saw clearly, that this scandalous book pleased the ministry, and probably appeared in Paris on his account, as he resided in that city, and had won the heart of every honest French-

man. On this occasion he acted the part of a man of magnanimity, as he really is, and returned unexpectedly to Berlin. He had observed, however, in most companies, since the appearance of Mirabeau's libel, the impression such writings made on the different understandings of their various readers. No one had more opportunity for this than myself, as every where I was questioned confidentially respecting the substance of Mirabeau's work, on the truth of which many appeared firmly to rely. I did what was the duty of an honest man, when virtue is calumniated: many I convinced; others accused me of partiality, and retained their doubts. Thus may the reputation of the worthiest man be injured by a knave, who will never fail to find many ready

dy enough to swallow the flanders he invents.

Even the court of Berlin itself, which I undertook to defend as a volunteer, might, instead of the reward I merited, object to me:

That the calumny of a Mirabeau, whose bad character and malicious heart were well known, could do no injury to those at whom he might discharge its poisoned darts, and therefore required no defence. Every thing advanced by him would be disbelieved; but what his opponent admitted would be considered and true: and Trenck had confirmed many things which the court would willingly perhaps have had pass unnoticed, and said many things which it would have wished not to have been mentioned. Of these my enemies accused me, and blamed my attempt. But they knew not

the impression Mirabeau had made on a foreign nation, where the affairs of Berlin were judged only from hearsay ; and this alone induced me to publish my answer.

As however my pen had already obtained the repute of being faithful to the cause of truth, and incapable of being debased to that of falsehood by the temptation of wealth or court favour ; as self never in the least entered into my thoughts, or biaſſed my conduct, even where my love of truth had made me enemies, and expoſed me to perſecution, and would probably do ſo ſtill ; I repented of nothing I had written. Enough for me that my intention was good. I had diſplayed a villain in his proper colours, and had defended men truly great againſt ſcandal. Since we are all but human beings, no honeſt and ingenuous man will

will require of me, that, in defending even the best of men and of kings, I should make them angels: I am no hired panegyrist, and the disgrace of a flatterer shall never stain my gray hairs. If the purpose of writing be judged and rewarded according to the intrinsic value of an ever impartial historian; if I be considered as an independent spectator, possessing philosophy and experience of the world enough to contemplate with indifference the greatest ingratitude; this certainly I had not to expect for a work, the end of which was honourable, and the effect of which on the mind of every thinking reader could not be injurious to those, whom, notwithstanding their failings, I find cause to reckon amongst the greatest men of the present day.

When

When, moreover, a great minister, whom, in the book alluded to, I have accused of a little selfishness, after having depicted all his virtues, his deserts towards his country, and his personal great qualities, as they really are, is incensed against me : I repent not, whilst I pity the man who wishes to be admired as faultless on the theatre of the world ; and wish him such enthusiastic flattering panegyrists, as he himself is in all his writings, where he endeavours to make his great Frederic a demi-god, and would willingly throw a veil over all his foibles. So writes not, so acts not Trenck. And though that minister wrote to one of the literati of the french academy, Mr. Mayeur, requesting, *that he would make use of all possible means, to discredit my writings in France,* and I might on this account accuse him,

as

as my supposed friend, of ministerial duplicity : yet my way of thinking and acting, where the voice of the public justifies and indemnifies me, is above it; and my conduct has shown, that I fear no low revenge from a man, who possesses mind enough to esteem him that dares speak the truth to the teeth of the most powerful, and recants nothing that he has once published to the world. That man is always great who strives with ardour to approach perfection : on the contrary, he who fancies he has already reached its summit is little; and ridiculous if he think to frighten by his dignity, and power to injure, men of my stamp, whom his benefits would certainly never induce to stoop to base flattery. He had in fact injured me, when he undervalued to the

the king the intrinsic worth, the design, the necessity, and the effect of my book.

But let my work be estimated by the situation in which I stood. Mirabeau is a dangerous man, that knows how to employ either dagger or poison. At the time when I wrote against him in Paris, when I publicly declared him a villain, he was actually a deputy to the states general, and had great sway with the people. Courage he possessed not to call me into the field; but his plot was formed, to get me seized by a mob, and tied up to a lantern post. This was easily practicable in the tumults that then prevailed. My party however, was too great, and I appeared daily without fear in the midst of the throng, but well guarded against treachery.

At Versailles, in the midst of the assembly

assembly I passed under his very nose with a haughty and threatening air. Every body expected a quarrel : but the contemptible fellow shunned my presence.

When my work against him was announced, as the revolution was just breaking out, and he was the favourite of the people, he gave my publisher to understand, that his house should be rased, and he should be hanged, if he dared to sell a single copy. The honest bookseller was frightened, and declined having any thing to do with it. What did the covetous Mirabeau get by this? He secretly pirated my work, and his edition was sold, before my publisher came forward. Thus my profits were lost, and he reaped the fruits of my labour. I was told, indeed, that he had bribed my bookseller, privately to let him have the sheets :
these

these he had reprinted at Leipzig, and at the same time procured a German translation to be published in the empire; thus my edition was superseded. By these means he sought to gratify his revenge, and at the same time indulged his ruling passion, avarice, by filching from me what should have been the reward of my labour, my risque, and my vexation.

His artifice did not stop here. In his furtive edition he maliciously inserted many words, that perverted the sense of the original, and threw blame on those whom I was defending: thus it was, probably, that the prussian minister, count Hertzberg, once my great protector, who expected from me no public blame, was incensed and exasperated.

Thus is the world deceived; and thus villains find opportunities of playing

playing underhand tricks on worthy men. The same has been done even with the history of my life, in malicious reimpressions, where, by the insertion or omission of a few words, the sense of whole passages has been twisted to my prejudice, being altered to bare faced lies, that wounded the reputation I had acquired of a strict lover of truth, and stamped discredit on my writings.

So in the year 1772 a contemptible monk, the arch-presbyter Tevis of Aix-la-Chapelle, played me a trick, which, as it deserves to be noticed, I shall relate.

I was then publishing weekly a periodical work under the title of The Friend of Mankind. A translation of the Last Day from Young was inserted in it. I had given the sheets for the approaching saturday
to

to the printer, and had corrected them myself, when I was obliged to go to Duffeldorf. The number was printed off, and issued. On the Sunday, six preachers condemned and reviled my writings from the pulpit, mentioning me by name; held me out to the people as an outlawed freethinker and arch-heretic; blamed the magistrates, that could permit the publication of such works in their jurisdiction; and actually stirred up the people against me, as one who publicly denied the immortality of the soul.

Some friends informed me of this affair, which astonished me greatly, as the poem was a literal version of Young, who certainly never disputed the souls immortality. I hastened to Aix, and was shown the sheets that had been given out. Here at once I found the knavery,
in

in the alteration of a single syllable.

The second book, which describes the resurrection of the dead, begins with the lines :

"Now man awakes, and from his silent bed,
Where he has slept for ages, lifts his head;
Shakes off the slumber of ten thousand years,
And on the borders of new worlds appears,
New souled." *

* We are here obliged to take a small liberty with Young, in order to render the passage intelligible to the english reader. The words *new souled* are not in the original: they are a literal translation of the baron's *neu beseelt*, on which the whole accusation turned; by substituting in their stead *abeseelt*, "unsouled." The lines were rendered in German :

"Nun wacht der mensch, und hebt aus
seinem stillen bette,
Wo er jahrhundert schlief, sein klappernd
haupt empor,
Er schuettelt's, als ob er nicht ausgeschlafen
hatte,
Und aeritt in neuer welt auch neu beseelt
herbor.

T.

instead

Instead of *new fouled* the printer had put *unsouled*. Now any man of common understanding, who took a view of the context, must immediately perceive, that this expression contradicted the sense of the whole, and could not belong to it.

Taking witnesses with me, I hastened at once to the printer, and demanded the manuscript. In this stood very properly *new fouled*. The old man was honest, and much surprised at so gross an error of the press: but his son, the compositor, was a rascal. I fell on him immediately in a fury, and he endeavoured to exculpate himself by terming it an oversight; his uneasiness however I sufficiently remarked.

At this very instant came in a friend of mine, who was a subscriber, and always called for his copy himself. He showed us the words

new

new souled printed rightly. I then attacked the son seriously, and brought him to confess, that the arch-priester Tevis had come to him, and induced him, by a present of four guineas and the assurance of his protection, to cancel the sheets that were more than half printed off, and insert the word *unsouled*. This was done by working at night without the father's knowledge, and only about twenty of the former were issued, which were taken by subscribers who had come for them the day before publication.

Can Satan himself play more malicious tricks than an abandoned priest to injure an honest man? The affair was now notorious throughout Aix : but the people had once been stirred up, and with them priests are always sure to be in the right.

From

From this true and well known story may be clearly perceived, how a wicked man may blast an author's character by falsifying a single word. This has particularly happened to me, in those editions of my history printed in the imperial territories. The treacherous Mirabeau did me the same ill turn in Paris: my answer to his book was not quite finished, when I left that city: and when I came to read it over, I found in it whole passages, that could not possibly have been in my manuscript, as they never entered into my imagination, much less could they have flowed from my pen. Printers, compositors, and editors have been bribed to attain certain purposes: and this has actually happened to me. It is even possible, that the person employed by me to correct the press may have been gained. This I have
 thought

thought proper here to remark, and at the same time to request my reader, if he meet with suspicious passages, not to forget what I now premise for my justification. Mirabeau is a man capable of any meanness, if by it he can gratify his avarice, his pride as an author, or his lust of revenge. He was too much of a poltroon to attack me with his sword, when he saw me personally. With his pen he could not defend himself, for mine had exposed and defeated him. His only weapons therefore were the last resources of a detected villain. On the other hand, truth and the public voice were for me.

An acute judge of mankind, Mirabeau's envy was particularly excited by the presumption, that my work would procure me favour and be of advantage to me at Berlin : and by falsification of a word or a
line

line occasionally, in his pirated edition, that appeared in Berlin much earlier than my own, and perhaps by the corruption of my publisher, he frustrated all my hopes of advantage, and turned them to my prejudice.

They who are acquainted with literary labours may easily judge of the pains it cost me to write in a foreign language, and afterwards copy with my own hand, four large volumes, within the space of five months, whilst, conformably to the manners of Paris, I was obliged to spend the whole day till midnight in the bustle of a numerous society. This I did, and at the same time obtained the applause of the nation in a far higher degree than any German who had ventured as an author to enter the lists of french literature. The voices of the academicians, the learned, and all the french

french reviews were unanimously for me : this was honour enough.

Now to resume the thread of my narrative. To avoid repetition, I shall pass over all the circumstances of which I availed myself to promote my purposes, or gratify my curiosity, as every thing relative to the revolution appertains to my history of it, and is there related. I say nothing more of the many testimonies of friendship I received from a whole nation, for which I had done nothing. Suffice it I was invited to spend my last days in France. I was offered the post of camp-marshal, with a pension of eight thousand livres *, and I might there have well provided for all my children. Such an offer was never made me in a country for which I have suffered every possible affliction, and

* £333, 6s, 8d.

lived and laboured two and forty years. But my sentiments and circumstances allowed me not to accept offers so highly advantageous. I was satisfied to leave with general esteem a nation, in which the heirs of my name will find all hearts prejudiced in their favour; and to bear away the reputation of having sacrificed all private interest to the desire of acting as a man of honour, who lives only to shame those that will not know him in his true character. I was satisfied that men saw what Trenck could do, and effect, when he thought fit to apply himself to any important enterprize. For men that know how to gain and preserve the love of the people in a foreign country are certainly not to be offended with impunity, if they be capable of avenging themselves, and opportunity be not wanting.

That nothing was to be feared from me, however, I have shown in the french, brabantine, and hungarian revolutions. The now humbled court party regret, that they listened not to my advice, given with sincerity, and after duly considering circumstances: whilst their victorious opponents embrace me with brotherly love, though to obtain it I never treacherously betrayed the confidence with which I was treated by the friends of the ancient government. This event, during which I was accidentally at Paris, will ever remain a principal epoch in the history of my life. Virulently as this history has been attacked by greedy printers, and obscure hired writers, their pamphlets have produced little benefit to the publishers. A man of honour writes his name in his title page, and

anonymous scriblers vanish like moths that shun the light of day. I have published my *defence*, and all my nameless accusers are at once and for ever answered : if any one believe himself personally offended, he knows where I am to be found, and I do not suffer myself to be long inquired after.

Count Gravenitz, late aulic counsellor, alone has sought to vindicate his honour, which he conceived to be injured, by my naming him amongst the Zettos and Kruegels. The good man, however, has forgotten what I said to him in his chamber, when he was at the head of the aulic council. He then expressed his sorrow and repentance for his decision, for which he had been paid by my opponent ; and I generously forgave him as a poor sinner demanding pardon. But when in his feeble
defence

defence he denies that he was in due form cashiered, he is a liar; for all Vienna, and in particular the imperial agent Schroeder, have proved, that in the cause of one Palma he suffered himself to be corrupted. The same thing had happened before, on more occasions than one, but had been looked over, as one hand washes the other: this time, however, he was suspended. The only thing that enabled him to hold up his head for a few years under the reign of Theresa was his selling Luther, and going over to the only true faith. She dying too soon for him, his apostate fanaticism was at an end. He then went to Hungary, and attempted to take in count Theodore Bathiany by various projects: but his scheme failed, his design was discovered, and the count clapped the aulic counsellor into prison. After re-

maining some time in durance, he was set at liberty, and returned to Vienna. There he speedily received from the emperor the *consilium abeundi*; in plain English, it was recommended to him to quit the city as fast as possible, as the monarch wished not to stamp disgrace on the court of justice, by inflicting public punishment on one of its judges. He had just entered into a contract to spirit away a number of German subjects, to form a colony in Spain; and for this crime the worthy aulic counsellor and dealer in human flesh was deposed from the seat of justice, and expelled the country.

That this was his real fate I here pledge my honour; and his rashness, in endeavouring to justify himself, compels me to make it known. As to what he says of my history in other respects, it is perfectly indifferent

ferent to me, whether he believe it or not: the approbation of a Gravenitz would not less disgrace me, than his testimony justify. He who seated on the bench of justice could suffer himself to be corrupted by a bribe, he who for love of gain could sell his countrymen* into slavery, is no longer to be numbered amongst honest men, and deserves not that I should contaminate my pen with his name. If there be any one in whom his superficial defence has excited favourable sentiments, let him write to any agent of the aulic council, and inquire the reason why Gravenitz was dismissed: his general character will then proclaim what he is. His want of integrity

* And is not every human being the countryman of a philosopher? the countryman of a Christian? T.

cost me eighteen thousand florins†, of which he robbed my children for a bribe of a hundred ducats. much good may it do him! The money I have already forgotten; and I require it not from his colleagues. I only wish to meet Mr. von Gravenitz in the course of my travels, and that he may demand a demonstration *a posteriori* of what I have written: he shall then meet with his desert.

Having now seen every thing I wished in Paris, and my domestic affairs calling me home, I went to the *hotel de ville* to Mr. de la Fayette, and Mr. Bailly, the mayor, the only persons who had then power to grant passports, as in the general ferment the privileges of foreign ambassadors were neither regarded

nor allowed. The passport of the imperial minister in particular could not avail me, as he had fled from Paris himself for his own security. Both the leaders of the armed citizens were my friends, and both urgently intreated me to defer my journey, as no one could answer for my not being troubled and detained fifty times on the road, by the armed citizens and peasants; as at this period the aristocrats and the chiefs of the vanquished party were endeavouring secretly to escape out of the kingdom. I continued firm in my request, however; and they went into the office to dispatch me. They soon brought me out my passport with great politeness; and Fayette said, he earnestly requested me, that I would go without any weapon, as no traveller yet, without exception, durst carry any arms.—Look-

ing at him sternly, and with a countenance decidedly expressive of a sense of insult, I answered :

General, I am an officer in the service of a foreign power, and whoever demands the sword of Trenck shall die by its point.—Do not be in a passion, my dear friend : replied he. But what if a thousand come in a body, and demand it?—Then the first that comes within my reach dies ; and so shall all, that cannot overpower me.—They looked at me with amazement ; took back my passport ; left me for a few minutes ; and then brought me another, in which arms were not prohibited me. As a particular mark of esteem, the number of my servants or fellow-travellers too was left undetermined ; so that I could easily have assisted any of the court party to escape out of the country.

But

But this I did not, as I would in no-wise offend those who had loaded me with friendship. I now took my leave: every one embraced me heartily, but all doubted my arriving quietly at the frontiers, where every species of licentiousness was tolerated, and the armed peasants swarmed on every side.

Six weeks before I had demanded a passport, and had taken leave of the whole city, to depart on the 10th of june. But this was merely an artifice. I knew beforehand nearly the time when the revolution would break out: so, that I might not be under a necessity of embracing one party or the other, I left Paris, and returned privately; remaining incognito at the house of Mr. Boehmer, jeweller to the court, the person who sold the celebrated necklace to the cardinal Rohan.

From this circumstance had I an opportunity of discovering the true history of that adventure, in which madam la Motte acted the principal part, and of which I shall publish a particular account.

In this house I beheld in private every step of the revolution, without risque of being forced to avow my party. But when the decisive blow was struck I appeared publickly amongst the people, and was received as before with open arms. Many of the unfortunate, too, had I opportunities of serving.

With the more satisfaction did I depart for having witnessed this grand scene, in which the despotic king of the French found by experience, that a nation without a king is still a nation; but that a king without a people is indeed an insignificant being. Yet of an offended
people,

people, urged to actual insurrection, he only who then beheld revenge, rage, or despair, depicted on every countenance throughout the vast and polished city of Paris, can form an adequate judgment. And, O my God! how little, how dejected, how heartless, how disquieted appeared then the favourites of a court, the proud insensible nobles, the heroes of the parade and antichamber, the jack-puddings and favour-mongers of the palace, whilst they sought compassion, pity, and protection from the least of the people, roaming about with halters in their hands, ready to tie up to the first lantern-post every minister and every bloodsucker of the nation. Surely such events must serve as warnings to those who endeavour to lead hoodwinked kings by the nose, and for their private ends would persuade

suade them, that the wealth of the public is their property, that they are above all laws, and that they may sport uncontrolled with the natural rights of man.

From my soul I pray, that this event may, by being properly employed, give happiness to all France.

That nation prone to noble sentiments deserves not to be whipped and scourged to the duties of a subject.—And with this wish left I Paris, regretting the necessity of my departure, as I would gladly have lived and died within its walls.

At the barrier I was stopped by a number of armed citizens, and my passport was demanded. But on observing my face one of them exclaimed: This is our friend Trenck: go on in God's name, and take our best wishes with you, you need no passport in France!

Thus

Thus was it with me throughout the country. Wherever I mentioned my name, no passport was required: and even in the villages the armed peasants recognised me. —I passed through Metz when the people were raging in full fury, and burning the barriers. My equipage was german and suspicious; while every passenger was strictly observed. But as soon as they saw my passport, with my name, they let me go on securely through the collected crowd.

About a mile from Verdun I fell in with a regiment of hussars, commanded by colonel count Pestalozzi, on their return from the plain of Sablons. The officers knew me, and made room for me in the midst of them. I was proceeding with the regiment, when I was met by a coach full of ladies. These, when they arrived

arrived in Paris, related, that they had fallen in with me on the road, as a prisoner, attended by a party of hussars. The account was not improbable, and greatly alarmed my friends. In Verdun I was surrounded by all the officers. The bishop heard of my arrival and invited me to dinner. This invitation I thought proper to decline, as I was travelling in haste: but no excuse was admitted; I was forced to make my appearance, and found the worthiest prelate that I had ever met with in my life. The company was large: I was treated as if I belonged to the nation: and this day was certainly one of the pleasanter I ever spent. Marshal Broglie had fled hither, and remained incognito in the episcopal palace with his old friend. But the people got intelligence

gence of it, sent a deputation to their beloved pastor, to inform him, that his castle should be pulled down, if he afforded protection to the traitor Broglio. By the assistance of one of my friends, however, he was safely conducted away, and fled to Luxemburg; though probably he knew not to whom he was indebted for this important service. Overwhelmed with testimonies of friendship I proceeded to Deux Ponts, where I had promised the duke a visit. There I staid four days, and received every possible honour.

I was now on german ground, and had laid aside my french national cockade. The only disadvantage I received from the revolution was, that through my friends I had obtained the assurance of having my two eldest daughters handsomely

somely provided for in some convent, but with the downfall of the court party this prospect was rendered fruitless.

Another circumstance I must here remark, that shows the malice of my fate. A lady of Normandy, who had an only daughter fifteen years old, and possessed a paternal estate of eighty thousand livres* a year, was so much taken with me, that she offered me this daughter for my eldest son, and gave me her word for the performance. I wrote to him to Vienna, desiring him to quit that city, and come to me as quickly as possible. He returned me for answer—That it was impossible for him to resolve on any such step; as he was satisfied with his situation in Austria, was belov-

* £ 3333, 6s. 8d.

ed in his regiment, and would remain a zealous and faithful servant of the emperor.

I then made the proposal to my second son, who was in the Prussian service.—He told me—That all his aim was to be a good prussian officer; and that this was so much to his inclination, he wished no other fortune.

Thus happens it to the best of fathers. He sighs when his children with blood boiling high imagine happiness resides in the livery of a soldier, and sees them with grief let slip opportunities never again to be expected. Thus unfortunate was I in France, where the hopes of promoting the welfare of my children were so frustrated. Yet if all my daughters had been with me, I am certain they would have been provided for, as from the enthusiasm

asm I inspired, few Frenchmen would not have thought themselves honoured in becoming my stepsons. Besides, they were not deficient in beauty, figure, or personal qualifications for making a husband happy; and their minds were formed by myself. Unluckily they were not with me; and the golden opportunity is gone by.

I had in France another important advantage for the establishment of my children. In Russia my mother had taken for her second husband a count Lostange. Now as the very respectable family of Lostange is allied to the first houses in France, with those of Rochefoucault and Rocheaimont, all which called me *dear uncle*, and *dear cousin*, an honour seldom obtained by a German; nothing would have been easier than by their means to have obtained

obtained husbands for my daughters, who have nothing in Austria, where I have no relations, and where stupid national pride requires letters patent, that money without a shadow of merit can readily purchase at Vienna. Hence the duty of a father is a heavy burden to my gray hairs: for I cannot sit quiet in my village, when my children are grown up, and are to be introduced into the world. Against my will I must accompany them, and relinquish my now strong inclination for the tranquil simplicity of rural life. On this account principally do I travel through the world, seeking opportunities to be of advantage to them.

On my return to Vienna, at the end of august, every one's curiosity was on the stretch, to hear my account of the french revolution. But I avoided all company: and,

as the emperor lay very ill, he learnt from me, through the grand equerry, prince Dietrichstein, what he wished to know, and what probably without me he could not have known. To that gentleman alone I entrusted all my secrets, without reserve. I respect him, as I know his character; and, as he saw the emperor daily, and is accustomed to speak from his heart, I am assured that he did not disguise the truth.

I availed myself of this opportunity chiefly to inform him of the brabantine revolution, as in Paris I had been enabled to investigate the whole transaction. I demonstrated to him, that Brabant was lost without resource. To this the emperor paid no attention, thinking the whole affair a trifle of no importance. When I saw this, I retired to my country seat, and sent him an account

count of every thing in writing.—I disclosed to him the only expedient, and employed on this occasion the following strong expression:—If your majesty do not lose Brabant within three months, I will forfeit my head from my shoulders.

But, alas ! no answer followed.—Upon his death-bed he was asked whether he had received and read my paper. His answer was: yes: Trenck was in the right, but I could not believe it, and it is too late.—I remain, in the strictest sense of the word, an honest man—and what is my reward? Nothing. It is true the monarch would willingly have known from me every particular, for the purpose of satisfying his vengeance: but I was not his spy; and Trenck will never, to ingratiate himself with a crowned head, betray friends who deem him worthy
of

of their confidence: knaves only, incited by avarice, are capable of such actions. In Brabant I had many friends: baron von der Hagen, governor of Brussels after the revolution, was my wife's nephew; and I am well assured, that the true brabantine patriots, who are not the tools of priests, approve my conduct with respect to the revolution, and will remain the friends of my children.

I—Now am I a citizen of the world, leaving behind me friends in every nation, and in that description I may certainly include the honest people of Hungary. Three years ago I was in Pest, where discontent and murmuring reigned, not without cause, and the national pride of the Hungarians was urged almost to desperation.

Let

Let my friends, who then opened their hearts to me without reserve, who laid before me all their secrets, reflect on the advice I gave them. Was I not a true prophet? when I said: children! forbear—the time is not yet come—resistance will be your ruin. Be patient, and wait a favourable opportunity. Within twice twelvemonths all the attempts of your enemies must and will come to nought; and Joseph will retract every thing that he now so rashly ordains.

This satisfaction, too, have I lived to receive, that he fulfilled my prophecy just in time on his death bed. What has been effected in France with so much bloodshed, Hungary has obtained without sacrificing the life of a single citizen. Avail yourselves of the opportunity, and take heed, that no ecclesiastical

fetters be forged to replace the civil
ones shaken off.

Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur.

“Prevention is better than remedy.”

If opportunity offer, think on
the unjust possessors of the estates
of Trenck in Slavonia, which I
lost in the most shameful manner,
contrary to all the fundamental laws
of Hungary, whilst the president
of your exchequer, with despotic
power, rendered many families poor
to enrich himself and his friends;
and receive my children and heirs
as lawful denizens of the kingdom
of Hungary, whose father, not-
withstanding all the injustice he has
experienced, will still carry an hon-
est hungarian heart to his grave,
that would have bled freely for your
liberties, but now rejoices over the
revival of your happiness. Think,

too, on the merits of that Trenck, late commander of the pandours, who did honour to his country. And preserve in your archives and libraries my writings, particularly my True Account of the French Revolution, the Priest unmasked, the Balance between the civil and ecclesiastical Powers, and the Macedonian Hero.

A revolution in Austria, too, I lived to see. I was in Vienna when Joseph, struggling with death, beheld all his purposes frustrated, and had time to retract the greater part of them, before the flame burst out. He died: yet for me he had done nothing, he had made me no reparation. Theresa, at the end of her days, was probably inclined to do much for me: so assuredly was the emperor. But, alas! they both breathed their last in the arms of

monks; and where monks find admission I and my rights have nothing to hope. Important, however, were these two years, that passed since I concluded the third volume of my history at Berlin. They were in fact two years of triumph, in which I received in foreign lands those laurels, that I had deserved in Austria, yet there alone did not find. A new reign perhaps may bring new days, in which I may gather the fruit of my toils. Thus at least I thought at the time: But the event proved otherwise. Now therefore, I shall not stand selfcondemned, if I resolve to seek a haven where my pen can with freedom disclose, what it has hitherto concealed, and vindicate the honours of my memory when I am no more.

The reform-decree of the emperor Joseph had forcibly wrested
from

from every landholder in Austria a third part of his property, and the despotic proceeding of the officers of the directorial courts disgusted me with rural economics, in a country where no agricultural improvements could be expected from bailiffs, who from husbandmen were obliged to become lawyers, as on this head, not the former, they were examined at the diets. Such people, however, are not to be had but with double expence, without the least advantage in regard to the principal object. A more melancholy situation cannot well be conceived for a landed man in this country, who sees all his expectations frustrated; and from the new regulations his peasants will work no more, since they cannot be compelled to work. At the same time, the great number of recruits raised

for the army deprives the country of its useful hands, so that agriculture must be neglected: the scarcity of workmen doubles expences: and the taxes are rapidly augmenting. Thus with grief I beheld the remains of my possessions, snatched with difficulty from the gripe of covetousness, daily diminishing: and, as property has here no security, I must now, grown gray with age, leave a country where I could not labour with satisfaction, sacrifice my quiet to the duty of a father, and seek another port, which I had descried long ago, when my aims were more humble.

Forty three years have I laboured and suffered in the austrian dominions, neglecting or refusing every opportunity of obtaining wealth or honours, that my memory might never be branded with the reproach

of

of mutability : and I am rewarded with ingratitude. Long ago indeed I ought to have been sensible, that I was acting unwisely when I let slip an occasion, on which I might have left with honour a country, where priestly vengeance found its full range to keep men of my stamp out of the field of action. But those years are fled ; and repentance comes too late. Suffice it that I have acted my part with repute, and general approbation : and if it be not applauded at Vienna, Rome, or Madrid, in ever other country of Europe my reception has been enviable. My love of liberty, indeed, and the freedom of my pen, are not calculated to please every one : yet they have injured myself alone, and I repent them not.

God grant, that my hitherto stormy and unquiet course may at length

peaceably come to an end. Lived I for myself alone, I had long ago been at rest, and would have little regarded the third confiscation of my property : but the duty of a parent has hitherto deterred me from this resolution, though the face furrowed with age ought to do nothing that can render it ridiculous. We are now at a critical period. Within these two years I have witnessed events, which I ardently desired twenty years ago, when I was sufficiently young, when I enjoyed sufficient strength, to have taken an active part in them. Still, perhaps, I can be useful in this scene as a spectator, though feeble, or drop my curtain with applause, or quit with approbation the theatre of politics. Certainly it is more becoming for one of my years to look on, and applaud others, than to be hissed

off

off the stage. My history will be read, when I shall be no more. Whether its veracity be disputed or not, a hundred years hence, when every eye witness of it is dead, is a matter of indifference to me, since I have had the satisfaction to obtain and enjoy, in the highest possible degree, the confidence and approbation of my contemporaries.

I have now to relate an occurrence, that confirms the unwearied persecution of my fate. I had received some money in Paris for my writings; and as no one durst take more than five and twenty guineas in ready money with him, whilst all the aristocrats were endeavouring to escape out of the country, and the people were every where up in arms, I gave my cash to the banker Pinet, my intimate friend, and took from him a bill on Vienna.

On our parting he wept bitterly, squeezed my hand, and said :—we shall never see each other again, my friend.—I assured him, that I should soon return again, as it was my intention to spend the remainder of my days in France. With a sorrowful countenance he repeated :—I shall never see you again.

My purpose was to go straight to Vienna, there first to pay all my debts, to set my affairs in order, and then to proceed to Zwerbach to my estate ; no more to mix in the affairs of the world, but to suffer my lamp to go out gently in the midst of my family.

When I arrived at the post-house at Remmelbach, which was but two hours journey from Zwerbach, I there found my wife and two eldest daughters, who were come to an auction. What an unfortunate meeting

meeting for me!—I could not possibly avoid going home with them. A secret inclination to go on to Vienna rendered me uneasy: yet I staid with them five days.

On my arrival at Vienna I presented the bill of exchange for eight hundred and sixty pounds. With what astonishment was I struck, when the person to whom I presented it said:—you come too late; for yesterday we received news, that Pinet has failed for fifty millions of livres, and has shot himself through the head!

Accustomed to the strokes of misfortune, and enhardened against them, I wonder at my own calmness, that I could still patiently await what might be yet to come, without exclaiming against providence, who had sent my wife to Kemmelbach just at the moment to

divert me from my purpose of proceeding with speed to Vienna. It is true that I was disquieted in my mind the whole five days I spent at Zwerbach, without knowing why. Perhaps my good genius was pressed by Pinet's restless spirit to give me warning: but ethereal beings possess not the organs of speech, I was unable to divine its meaning. A presentiment of approaching misfortune is a vision, the operation of which on my mind I never could explain. Three days earlier I should have received my money at Vienna: but these slipped by, I lost all, and must form new plans, engage in new undertakings, to supply my necessities. Surely, a vessel of wrath, have I been appointed from all eternity to unceasing labour and agitation. Rich and happy shall I never be on this earth.

The

The preceding uncommon incident I have related merely to show, that good fortune does not always depend on ourselves *; and that the history of my life is a school for those, who feel no reason to reproach themselves with having been the causes that they are strangers to ease and quiet.

It is only incomprehensible to me, how Pinet, who had a sincere regard for me, and gave me when in Paris great and convincing proofs of his friendship and confidence, should

* Perhaps it shows the very reverse, and teaches us, that we make our fortune, good or bad. Had not Trenck suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose, for the sake of gratifying the inclination of the moment, his money would not have been lost. It is a grand lesson, than every thing is to be attained by perseverance, and the steady pursuit of our object. T.

take

take my money, when he knew himself about to fail for fifty millions, and shot himself the sixth day after my departure. To me his conduct is inexplicable. Still I must find new expedients to provide for my family, and keep myself at sea, far from the desired port.

The emperor Joseph was not a man for me : I never sought his favour ; I wished not to serve him even in the most honourable posts. His biographers durst not write the truth : and my pen might be suspected of partiality, were I to make it known. It was enough for me, that he was an undoubted enemy to literature, held all men of letters in contempt, and had made a vow never to read a printed book as long as he lived.

A despot certainly he was in the highest possible degree : consequently my Macedonian Hero, and my
free

free style of writing pleased him not. He permitted the liberty of the press, only because he saw his people sunk too deep in the mire of the grossest ignorance, to fear the spread of enlightened sentiments.

Had his education been different, he might have been a greater potentate, but he never would have been a great man. Profoundness was in no respect one of his qualities: thus superficially he appeared to possess knowledge, but he never had capacity for going to the bottom of any thing. Vanity was his foible: his temper was cruel and implacable: his countenance, expressive of scorn, indicated a master who fancied every one his inferior. He wished to be thought just, without being so. Of his passions he had not the command: and neither nature nor art had formed him for the
part

part of a hero, at which he aimed. Naturally suspicious, he could not but be severe and unfeeling to a nation actually sunk to the lowest degree of baseness and depravity. Honour, patriotism, social duty, magnanimity, virtue, honesty, are not known even by name in Vienna. Neither at home nor at school, neither from their parents nor masters, do youth learn or hear any principles capable of forming worthy men or good citizens. In every convent, in every place of pilgrimage, in every church, indulgences are to be had in abundance.

He who is guilty of a crime, even the very judge who suffers himself to be corrupted and passes an iniquitous sentence, has nothing to do but dispatch a poor fellow with a sum of money to the shrine of St. Mary, to pray for him, and bring him

him back a full pardon. Good deeds are set off against bad ; the latter are indorsed to some other, like bills of exchange ; masses are paid for with stolen money, and he who has lived fifty years a villain receives on his death-bed absolution from a priest in the twinkling of an eye. These are truly the religious principles of Austria. Contractors, officers of the treasury, commissaries, agents, and almost all who have opportunities of enriching themselves with the public money, plunder without blushing, without fear of punishment. The goodness and excessive indulgence of Theresa encouraged those who were openly known for robbers of the public. Joseph endeavoured to put an end to such practices by displaying the rod, but his attempt was a jest, where almost all are knaves by rule. The chain
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in all the courts of justice is too well linked; and where a monarch, who wants acute discernment of character, must choose from the many; where one protects another; where knaves have the law in their hands; where an honest man, if such an one should by chance be found, is condemned as a visionary by presidents, expelled from the council as a restless disturber, and forced to languish in inaction; new laws, with long and patient perseverance, are requisite to form a new national character.

Thus Joseph was incapable of effecting any grand reform; for in a country so deeply sunk in depravity, injunctions, scourges, and executioners are of no avail. The whole national character must be changed and new moulded. All ecclesiastics should be excluded from
systems

systems of education; for they teach according to the precepts of the romish church, which cherish vice and ignorance, as the wise have little reliance on priests, and the virtuous have no need of absolution. Good teachers are at present wanting in the austrian dominions: consequently it is impracticable to form good seminaries. For this at least two generations are requisite; and few monarchs enjoy the long life of a Frederic, to see them spring up, grow, and blossom, to produce men qualified to fill with advantage every department of the political system. To the conduct of such an enterprise Joseph was all together unfitted. He was for accomplishing every thing by force. He sifted nothing thoroughly, he knew not the true source of the evil, and made laws and ordinances, before he had removed

removed the obstacles to their execution, or could ascertain the practicability of his designs. What was the consequence. An immense number of explanations, as his decrees were obscure and equivocal; little steadiness in enforcing them; and at length indifference to the nonobservance of them, or perhaps their repeal, followed by new ordinances, that experienced the same fate as the former.

Never was the most stupid prince more contemned, less valued, less beloved, or less obeyed, than Joseph. Wise we must certainly allow him to have been in his way; but he was soon wearied of his undertakings, deterred, chagrined, and dissatisfied; whilst his ministers and counsellors followed the old rout, and no person of abilities assisted him, as he was resolved to know

know and conduct every thing by himself. So circumstanced he was actually an enemy to mankind, and, had he lived longer, he would gradually have become the most unfeeling of tyrants.

His daily intercourse was with people who knew still less than himself. Of the sciences that belong to the art of government he had never made himself master. Occasionally he endeavoured to emancipate himself from gross prejudices: but they soon subdued his uncultivated mind; and they whom he chose for his advisers speedily gained an ascendancy over his confused ideas, availed themselves of his weakness, and, being enemies to mankind or ambitious of power, steered him by their own compass, and left him in the whirlpool of perplexity, striving in vain to reach the shore. The more resistance he found, the more
he

he steeled his heart against noble and exalted sentiments. His chosen assistants must be despots, tyrants, men devoid of feeling. These flattered his natural propension to obduracy, fortified his heart against every soft emotion, alone capable of rendering princes happy by inclining them to do good, and tyrannised over the people in his name. His pride would not admit of contradiction. Flatterers and deceivers pressed round the throne, and obscured the truth. As all these termed his obstinacy firmness, and exalted his arbitrariness to the skies, as the sole mean by which he would become the greatest of all princes, and obscure the glory of the great Frederic, in acquiring superior fame; he soon desired to appear infallible, and to impart this infallibility to all his officers, civil and military, from the

the general to the corporal, and from the judge to the cryer of the court.

Nothing could offend him more, than to acquaint him, that a judge had suffered himself to be corrupted. This I found by my own experience. When I denounced to him the famous counsellor of the imperial chamber, von Zetto, as a knave, he said to me :

A judge cannot, must not be in the wrong ; otherwise the whole bench would cease to be revered, and become impotent. He who offends a court of justice, is guilty of an offence against me.

I lost by this affair thirteen thousand florins*, and was obliged to hold my peace ; whilst Zetto was appointed to administer my property, and most unmercifully fleeced

* £975.

me for twelve years, till at length, in consequence of fresh crimes, he was forced to sweep the streets of Vienna, and died in the house of correction.

To render the world thoroughly acquainted with the conduct of a Vienna court of justice, I cannot do better than depict the *judicium militare mixtum* of that place in its true colours; which will certainly make every honest man shudder, and pity those who have to seek redress from such judges. This I shall do further on.

Circumstanced as things were, Joseph could not introduce any alteration. A few of the judges and counsellors indeed he set in the pillory: but this only served to draw the links of the chain closer together, and he was so much the more deceived; more than any of his predecessors,

deceffors, who fuffered themfelves to be guided by their fpiritual directors. Materials from which to make a felection he could not find, and he wanted penetration to diftinguifh the villain wearing the mask of hypocrify from the man of honour without difguife: thus he treated all with fufpicion, was reftlefs and fearful in conducting the improvements he planned, and every thing was jumbled together in chaotic confufion.

He thought to remedy the evil by an immense number of new laws, ordinances, and refcripts: but, as they were illdigefted, ambiguous, or impracticable, none of his injunctions were fulfilled or carried into execution. Thus the old proverb—a Vienna law holds but three days—was confirmed, and every thing remained in the old way: nay

the perplexity was still greater; knaves and intriguers had free scope, and despotism raged uncontrolled at court, in the army, and in the tribunals of justice.

Writings multiplied to such a degree, that it was difficult to supply the demand of paper for the lawyers; and their proceedings served, like the shades of a magic lantern, to amuse, without answering any purpose. I myself received respecting my lordship in one year a hundred and thirteen ordinances and printed rescripts from the regency and the directory of the circle, of which not ten were applicable, or capable of being carried into execution. What a young counsellor dreamt in the night, or some projector, vagabond, or blockhead buzzed in his ear, was introduced in the

the morning to the council, and afforded matter for some new decree.

It is well known, that the seats of justice at Vienna are filled with two sorts of men. The first consists of young, wealthy cavaliers, that pass through the lower ranks, quickly to become presidents. At council these entertain themselves chiefly with stories of their amours, adventures of public places of amusement, their horses, or their pranks at court. Their knowledge and science are in general confined to the keys of the bedchamber; and for the most part they possess neither capacity nor inclination to serve the state. Their judicial functions, and the rights of the people, for which they were placed on the venerable seats of justice, they leave to the referendaries, or the learned, as they are called.

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The latter are partly blockheads, barely acquainted with the letter of the law; partly wily pettifoggers, versed in chicane. It is now generally known that men of this sort must live by presents and by their tricks. The more capable an advocate is of disguising the truth, and blinding the eyes of the judges, the more clients he gains. He, who undertakes to defend none but just causes, will certainly acquire neither wealth nor fame at the bar. The cheat, the extortioner, the impostor will pay treble for money not his own, and is consequently sure of his cause; whilst the honest man seeks no favour, and is neither willing nor able to see lawyers or judges.

One of these advocates no sooner gains an important cause for some cavalier, or minister and president, than through his patronage he steps into

into the seat of a counsellor or referendary. Well then for them whose advocate is an old friend and colleague of the new made counsellor! but alas for those who seek but literally their right! It is imagined, indeed, that sentences are passed in the council by vote: but he who is acquainted with Vienna knows, that very few if any of the counsellors read the documents; of course they vote according to the statement of the referendary. Colleagues like these reciprocally do good turns for each other; and he who leads his fellow blindly to day, will be ready to be led by him as blindly to morrow. The president is generally an ignorant old cavalier: and if by chance a single honest man should be amongst the herd, and endeavour to interfere, when he sees the grossest injustice on the point of being put

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in execution, his voice is drowned by that of the many, he is compelled to silence, and he is held out as a turbulent and odd mortal. As he gains no fees, his salary will not allow him to dress his wife with all the finery displayed by others in similar situations; and, if her importunity and his domestic necessities do not urge him to turn rogue, he lives in contempt. Such are truly the proceedings of the chambers of justice.

I have been witness to a cause in the *judicio militari mixto*, where the referendary left his decision in the council-chamber, and substituted another in its stead. This was returned from the supreme military court, passed in due form; and when it came to be read all present found it different from the one before agreed on. The surreptitious sentence was highly injurious to me, and

and particularly to my attorney, named Dorfner. He sought redress, and by humble intreaty obtained it. The referendary, however, remained unpunished, and his sentence against me was carried into execution. I remonstrated loudly, but my remonstrances were ineffectual. This very man is now counsellor and referendary in the supreme military court, where he inflicted on me a severe stroke of his vengeance.

To this must be added, the attorney Dorfner is rich, keeps an office for lending money on pledges, and advances to the judges their quarterly salaries. Wo betide the man, that has against him an attorney to whom the counsellors are debtors! Every thing must follow his beck.

In other courts things are better conducted, in a greater or less de-

gree. I was an eye-witness to one sitting when sixty four litigants and twenty two advocates waited at the door, all of whom were dispatched within three hours. Is it possible, that in these causes the right could have been properly investigated? Surely not. It follows, therefore, that every thing must have been determined according to the will of the advocates, or left to the direction of him who drew up the decisions.

Vigilant as he really was, what could Joseph do, notwithstanding his good intentions, in a case where no partial reform could be of service, where it was necessary to pull the whole structure down to the ground, where coadjutors were wanting, and where amendment was labour in vain? Thus he fell upon palliative means, had a new code

code of laws formed, and yet permitted the old to remain in force. As long as the advocates could quote old and foreign jurists in their writings, prolixity and contradiction arose, that spun out causes to an endless length. Besides, all the laws were calculated to fill the purses of the advocates. For example :

I once saw the attorney Dorfner standing in the hall of the court of justice, when he had eight and twenty causes to appear in that session. He went into the council-chamber, had a hearing that did not take him up more than a quarter of an hour, came out, and went to another office, where the same was done for other parties. He had now solicited delays for twenty eight clients, for each of which he charged three florins; of course, in the space of half an hour, he gained

eighty four florins for doing nothing. In every stage of the process he had a right to solicit delay three times, and the advocate for the opposite party had the same right. Thus the clients are fleeced, their suit lengthened out, and the work of the judges amplified.

Still more. According to the custom of Vienna, which is generally known, the two advocates that carry on a suit for opposite parties, are agreed before hand who shall win the cause. The clients are only dallied with, and their purses drained, whilst the spoil is divided in a brotherly manner. Possession is here more than eleven points of the law; for he who holds any thing unjustly is certain of gaining his cause, as he will be sure to pay best to secure it.

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When these two advocates appear in court against each other, they contend with incredible fury: but it is wholly according to a preconcerted plan, and, if the referendary be not in the plot, they contrive to throw a mist before his eyes, so that the truth is completely distorted.

There is not a single instance in Vienna of an advocate's having been punished, for having undertaken the most palpably unjust cause. They have too many protectors, and are too intimately connected with the judges, to fear the pillory; and all the laws of the land are so contrived as to enable them to play the knave, and augment costs.

This is a true description of the Austrian tribunals, where nothing but the dread of starving could induce an honest man to accept the

office of a judge, in which, a helpless bystander, he can only sigh to heaven for vengeance, when he sees the most just of princes deceived, and feels his own power unavailing, opposed to that of the many.

In this volume I shall adduce still more intimate proofs of these verities, which I have myself experienced, and which lie before my eyes. Amongst people so depraved a prince is highly to be pitied, if he wish to perform the first of his duties, and render justice to every one of his subjects. He has the labour of an Hercules, an augean stable to cleanse. Nay, Hercules had only the dung to evacuate; he has the beasts also: and asses will bite and kick, and will bespatter with their stinking excrements those that attempt to purify their stalls.

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In Vienna there is likewise a class of men called fanatics. These appease god when they sit in council by counting over their beads, and imagine they give him pleasure, when they have an opportunity of injuring a heretic. As such I was reputed at Vienna: what wonder that I was to lose every cause?

The emperor, indeed, gives audience to every subject: access to him is free. But if any one complain to him of a court of justice, his petition is sent to that very court. There complaints are never read, never inquired into—consequently no information is taken but the usual one, that dispatches a thousand memorials with little trouble.

The demands of supplicants find no attention: so that oppressed men have only to appeal to heaven for vengeance and redress. The monarch
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himself has no time to examine things, the tribunals are void of feeling, and their pride is offended, and thus the case is totally remediless.

Better is it to follow the example of an algerine slave, and submit to every thing in silence, than to call out for justice and further investigation, or complain of a judge.

For mere amusement, or in consequence of a false accusation, the dey, or some cadi, orders a slave fifty bastinadoes. Perhaps the guiltless sufferer cries out for justice. Immediately a court is formed of ten other slaves, whose code is termed order, or most supreme court's ordinance, or judgment. Assuredly these will not venture to say, that the former sentence was erroneous. What is the consequence? The petitioner gets fifty bastinadoes
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more, because his appeal was frivolous, and he has contumaciously resisted his superior.

As to many others in Vienna, just so has it happened to me, after I had actually demonstrated to a referendary, that he was a villain. All dreaded me, they stuck one to another, I lost every cause, and the whole nest of hornets combined to prevent me from gathering any honey in Austria.

The reader will now pretty clearly perceive, why the emperor Joseph was unable to effect any reform in the administration of justice; particularly as all his principles had for their basis despotism, which requires in a military government, as under his sway Austria was in fact to have become, a blind faith in the infallibility of every kind of superior, that represents the crown-
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ed vicegerent of the deity upon earth, and would reign with authority as unlimited as that of the Lord of Sabaoth.

He was well aware of the too great power of the nobles, who, in a limited monarchy, form the middle link between the throne and the people, as a proper barrier of defence. On this account he sought to gain the soldiers, the citizens, and the peasants, and would not have been displeased had more Horias and Klotzkas risen up in all his provinces, to strangle the nobles, and enrich the treasury with their possessions. And indeed it would have been no great harm: as the too wealthy hungarian and austrian lords serve only to devour the fat of the land, are of little use to the state, afford the citizens no protection, the learned no esteem,

teem, and for the peasants are destitute of compassion.

Every symptom of oriental despotism could not fail to strike the eye of the observing philosopher or politician. Every thing was conducted on the military plan with violence and severity. Professor, afterwards counsellor, Sonnenfels, a converted jew, who was reckoned amongst the learned only in Vienna, *quia inter cæcos regnat luscus* *, already asserted from the chair, and was villain enough to maintain in his public writings, that a subject has no property, and that every thing depends on the will of the monarch, who is above all laws.

All men of common sense should unite to buffet such a public teacher.

* "As he that has one eye is a king amongst the blind."

to death : yet the groveling inhabitants of Vienna sent their children to his school, where the base baboon sat swelling with pride, and fancied his name enrolled amongst those that give celebrity to Europe, though nothing but the whiffling children of poor slaves knelt before his shrine whilst he mumbled his all-saints litany.

But what followed Joseph's attempts?

Throughout all his dominions he began the work of reform at the wrong end. Every where he suffered the impious doctrine of Sonnenfels to be preached, yet notwithstanding wanted to secure property to the peasants, and take it only from the nobles. Hence discontent and murmuring every where arose : but the fear of an insurrection need disturb no man's slumbers

bers in Austria. Nay, were it possible to assemble together in arms the whole people of Vienna, there are two means of quieting them instantly: either give them a public ball at court, with abundance of poultry, pastry, and confectionary for them to devour: or let a few of the police soldiers lay down one of the foremost, and apply a score of bastinadoes on his breech, the rest would all become quiet, laugh at their cudgelled companion, and go home to gnaw the remains of a capon. Even haughty cavaliers that chanced to be turbulent might be treated in the same manner. The next day they would go to court, as proud as ever, but trembling with fear, attended by their most magnificent holiday equipage, and very submissively thank his majesty for remembering them

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in his kindness. This is the true national character, from which nothing is to be apprehended. Unfortunately Joseph thought to manage Brabant and Hungary in the same style: thus the former was lost, and had he lived two months longer Hungary would have been the same; already the insurrection was begun, and the german army was no longer at home there.

It was right of Joseph to introduce an equality of taxes and imposts into Austria and his hereditary dominions: he should have chosen honest and prudent men to have conducted an affair of such importance, and should have given it a different form and application: for the inequality is too striking, and too much at variance with common sense. For example. I have a vassal in my lordship, who, in taxes

of every kind, pays annually thirty four florins. The peasant who lives contiguous to him, possessing just the same quantity of land, and of exactly similar quality, pays his lord a hundred and twenty florins a year. The vexations of the austrian peasants are horrible on many estates, the proprietors of which revel in luxury at Vienna, and their stewards drain the poor farmers, whilst their lords curry favour to protect and share in their rapacity. If presents to the officers of the directories of the circles be properly distributed, the peasant cries for redress in vain. The emperor Joseph appointed two advocates at Vienna, and allowed them salaries, for the purpose of undertaking the causes of oppressed peasants against their lords. These privately received pensions from the tyrannic lords

lords, and the peasants that came to them with complaints were thrust out by the shoulders. Thus it is in Austria.

On the other hand, no way was thought of for indemnifying the proprietors of land for what they lost by the suppression of their tenths and other claims: and it was certainly cruel to rob them of their property. I lost by this twelve thousand florins*, which I had paid for them, by agreement, in ready money, to the person of whom I purchased my estate. As no middle way was thought of, the best schemes, for which many millions had already been thrown away in useless expences, and more than a hundred and thirty thousand florins† had been laid out in the arti-

* £900. † £9750.

cles of paper and tables of reform alone, unavoidably failed. Joseph died just as he saw it impossible to proceed : and Leopold was obliged to repeal and alter every thing. Thus things continued in the old track ; and the most admirable and necessary regulations vanished into air.

In Brabant a revolt broke out, and the province was totally lost, because it would suffer no innovations in the fundamental principles of its constitution.

The most laughable part of the story was, that the emperor sent for the most wise and honest men in Brabant, to teach them the forms of justice in the directories of the circles. Heavens, what a contrast ! There was not an individual amongst them, who did not possess more understanding, probity, penetration, and

and political knowledge, than all the austrian directors together, with the economical, financial, and regency counsellors inclusive-ly. These men took their seats under raw inexperienced youths, or corrupt perverters of justice, the actual tyrants of the country, to learn from them to render Brabant quiet and happy. How is it possible to assimilate a brabanter with a stupid austrian? How should austrian severity and the imperious style of despotism ever be familiarized to the free native of Brabant? Time proved the consequence of the attempt, in the loss of the province.

What follows too is remarkable.

When the emperor Joseph saw the loss of his best province, he was mean enough to send a supplication to the pope, who had in reality
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first lighted the torch of rebellion, that he might compel the brabanterers to return to their duty, by threatening them with excommunication. In Rome this was matter of laughter; of every politician it excited the astonishment.

At the same time he wrote to the highly incensed nation, that all the acts of violence of the commander in chief, general Dalton, and his minister Trautmannsdorf, were committed without his orders, and that he would deliver those two men up to them to punish. What incredible conduct for a monarch! Count Trautmannsdorf has openly justified himself in print at Vienna, and has made public all the emperor's letters and orders, which palpably give the lie to his assertion. Dalton's adjutant deserted, and carried the brabanterers an original

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letter of the emperor, according to which, the general was not to spare the child in the mother's womb, was to subdue all before him, and to tie his prisoners after the tatarian manner to his horses tails. With such fickleness, irresolution, meanness, and duplicity acted this monarch, when he wished to disguise his faults, and appear different from what he actually was. On this occasion I must give the world another specimen of his character, which is known only to a few in France.

I came to Paris just as the emperor had departed, and dined with the minister, count de Vergennes, in whose esteem I stood high. In a private conversation with him before dinner, I asked what he thought of my sovereign, whom he now knew personally.

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The count, who was not ignorant of my way of thinking, and spoke to me often with great confidence, said:—he is a man without character, a dangerous bad prince, whom I would trust even less than the king of Prussia.—To induce him to proceed, I defended the emperor.—At length he broke out, and told me: that the monarch advised him to announce a national bankruptcy, in order to clear France from all her debts.

To this he answered:—should such an event take place, your majesty's own subjects in Brabant would lose more than eighty millions.—Do not let that deter you from a bankruptcy, answered Joseph; give me half that sum, and you shall have my assent.

I was astonished, and gave up my defence: but I know, that Ver-

gennes had imparted the secret to some of the discontented brabanters, and it contributed not a little to occasion distrust of him, and to excite that fermentation which soon after took place.

The emperor had also proposed to Frederic, king of Prussia, at their conference in Silesia, to divide the german dominions: and, at the time that the exchange of Bavaria transpired, he had concerted with France a division of Germany, and the affair was agreed on. These two circumstances were the true springs of the alliance between the princes of the empire, of which Frederic had the art to avail himself, and to which Joseph paid little attention. These important discoveries I pledge myself to the reader to be political secrets, of the truth of which I had opportunity

tunity to satisfy myself thoroughly, and which I can affirm on my word of honour. Under the reign of such a prince what was to be expected, but general discontent at home, and wars on every hand abroad, to quell that spirit of ambition which he had incautiously betrayed?

The grand occupation of the court of Berlin was to observe him narrowly, to frustrate his designs, and to seize every opportunity of enfeebling the power of Austria.

His pride had been soothed, and erroneous ideas of the invincibility of his army had been impressed on his mind: hence on every occasion he spoke of nothing but his three hundred thousand warriors, and sought occupation for them from every quarter.

By his flatterers he had been told

that he was born to eclipse the fame of Frederic; and he really believed, that on his appearance in the field the sun of the Prussian hero would set, Joseph alone would subdue the world, and every potentate throughout the globe would receive laws from his mouth. The princes of the empire, whom he could not bear, since prince Kaunitz had represented him as weak and contemptible, he would lead vanquished to Vienna in triumph like Cæsar.

These notions transpired: a trap was laid for him: he fell into it: and became an object of ridicule. The palatine ambassador at Vienna, baron Ritter, was the principal tool employed by the court of Berlin, to incite him to the grand step, which exhibited him as the usurper of the liberties of Germany.

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This artful man, who had gone regularly through all the stages of the diplomatic office in Vienna, was well acquainted, from a six and twenty years experience, with the methods of doing business in that metropolis; an acceptable companion both in female and in learned societies; a true courtier, whom the old minister Beckerr had formed, and who, by his great influence amongst the ladies and spiritual directors of the court, was so much beloved, that he was actually the organ of all the foreign ambassadors, who were desirous of making important discoveries, or had great objects in view. Skilled in the knowledge of mankind, he had so flattered himself into the good graces of Joseph, that he possessed his entire confidence. As Ritter was the

bosom friend of Beckerr, by whom Joseph was led, and who had the welfare of Bavaria less at heart than his own, these two, instructed by the court of Berlin, concluded the convention between the emperor and the elector, who was a weak man, in such a way, that Joseph was made to appear as an usurper and an enemy of the german states; for the purpose of affording the subtle Frederic an opportunity of representing him in those characters, effectuating an alliance between the princes of the empire, and attacking him to advantage.

This was the grand scheme, and the plans which Ritter well knew how to concert to draw the emperor into the snare ensured its success. With the consent of the court of Berlin, Joseph might have accomplished

plished his purpose: but this was not the intention of Prussia, and the event fell out just as his enemies wished, through the artifice of Ritter, who had such ascendancy over the emperor, that till his death he remained in Vienna undiscovered and respected, filled his purse from every hand, and shone the most splendid luminary of the diplomatic horizon in a court of which he was accelerating the downfall. What the well informed bavarians thought of him or of the death of their sovereign, the elector, who soon after signing the convention departed for a more honest world, is not for me to judge, or to make known. Suffice it, that a war with Prussia broke out, and Joseph's bewildered imagination was leading him straight to Berlin.

H 5 Accident

Accident at that time brought me thoroughly acquainted with the whole intrigue of Ritter. The arch-duke Leopold, afterwards emperor, arrived at Vienna, just as Joseph had set off for Bohemia, to join his army on its march. I had a great affection for that prince, came from Paris and Manheim to Vienna, went to him, and discovered to him the whole secret; pointing out the great danger in which this war would involve Austria, the hidden designs that I knew were to be carried into execution during its progress, and which would inevitably break out on all sides, particularly amongst the discontented hungarians.

His determination was:—My dear Trenck, to morrow morning I must follow the emperor to Bohemia. Write me a letter, and send it

it off, by an express, as if I had ordered you to come to me in the morning, and, being gone before you arrived, you had written this letter, the contents of which you wished me to make known to the emperor. In it say every thing, that you have now disclosed to me with so much zeal, and I will make use of it to your advantage.

I obeyed his directions literally, and dispatched the letter by an express, whom I paid myself.

At his return to Vienna, Leopold informed me, that he received the letter, as he was mounting on horseback with the emperor to ride round the camp. On Joseph's inquiring its contents, he gave it him to read. The emperor perused it attentively, smiled, returned it to him, and said: "Trenck is certainly a charming writer".

This was the consequence, this the effect, of a discovery of the utmost importance. The event proved, that I clearly foresaw what soon followed, and what would shortly have broken out, had not the sagacious Theresa found means to achieve a peace. Such is the austrian reward of a good action. Joseph had too high an opinion of his skill in the art of war, to suffer himself for a moment to doubt, that he should subjugate and give laws to all Europe. The experienced Maria Theresa almost by compulsion yielded to her son thirsting after fame, blood, and war; and permitted her forces to march, whilst she was secretly negotiating a peace at Berlin.

Three days before the actual ir-
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ruption of the prussians into Bohemia, I wrote to Joseph:

“Now will Frederic, who was to tremble when the mighty Joseph took the field, wage war in earnest. All his preparations were only bugbears, to hinder the latter from getting possession of Bavaria——Another game will soon appear, if he will open his eyes.”

Thus blinded by vanity and prejudice did Joseph appear on the theatre of military fame in Bohemia, though he certainly possessed not the qualifications requisite for performing the part of a hero with effect and applause, as the event sufficiently proved. Frederic entered his territories under his nose, and the timid Joseph's ardour for marching straight to Berlin vanished in an instant. Terrified at the attack, he intrenched himself with
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his far more numerous army, whilst his opponent laid Bohemia under contribution.

Certain it is, that the emperor, who before the actual breaking out of the war dreamt of nought but victory, said at the head of one of his regiments:—my lads, prove yourselves the soldiers of Joseph; before the year is at an end I will lead you into Berlin.

Confidence in the young hero, and the Vienna rhodomontades, actually reached to such a pitch, that some inhabitants of that city followed the camp with waggons laden with wine, for which they gave the officers credit on the plunder of Berlin, whither they were to proceed with their empty waggons, to get them filled with the booty.

I myself know a man, who was so firmly persuaded of the success of the

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the expedition, that he lost three thousand florins, which he had advanced on no better security. As the imprudent always find somebody on whom to throw the blame of their own misconduct, they who suffered for their folly indulged themselves in reviling Theresa, for depriving them of the plunder of Prussia by a precipitate peace.

That I was assured what would follow, a ship-master of Ratisbon experienced highly to his benefit. This man, named Keller, had purchased of the elector an exclusive privilege, in virtue of which no one but himself was to transport corn on the Danube from Bavaria to the austrian territories. He complained to me of his grievance, in that the imperialists, since they had been in possession of the suburbs of Ratisbon, had granted the same per-

permission to every vessel without exception; and assured me, that he was ready to give two thousand ducats to the person that would get his old privileges confirmed at Vienna. I said to him :—my friend, if you will follow my counsel, keep your money: I will engage, that within six months every thing will be on the old footing, and no austrian government will give laws in Ratisbon. He took my advice, and afterwards thanked me for it.

I enriched also a poor birdfancier in Vienna, by persuading him to teach all his magpies, parrots, and starlings, to say nothing but :

“ the prussians are beaten.”

Presently throughout the town these birds were heard crying, like the Vienna politicians and idlers in every street and coffee-house, “ the prussians are beaten;” and the man found

found customers in abundance for them at twelve ducats a piece.

Such is the national character; and at that time it was woe betide the man, who ventured to express a doubt, that Joseph would march straight to Berlin, and annihilate the power of Prussia.

I prophesied differently; and thus rendered myself suspected, and raised up enemies on all sides. The emperor himself, at the breaking out of the bavarian war, made me the following proposal.—Trenck, you have now an opportunity of being revenged on the prussians. I will give you permission to raise a corps, and to ravage the country.

My answer was.—I have no reason to revenge myself on my native country: in Hungary I have lost an hundred times as much as in Prussia. Eight children have

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now claims on me for fulfilling the duties of a parent. If your majesty will assure me, that only a third part of the property unjustly wrested from me by count Grassalzowitz shall be restored to my children, if in the course of the war I lose my life in your service, I am ready to employ my sword for you as a soldier, but not as a robber.—A scornful sneer was the signal of my dismissal; and the injurious reply he made, not to my face, but to prince Charles Lichtenstein, alienated my heart wholly from him.—

“ I am now convinced, that Trenck is still a prussian in his heart, which I have long suspected: he is a dangerous man, and knows too much.”

Such an opinion, uttered by a monarch equally suspicious and revengeful, would have alarmed another

ther person : but I remained a stranger to fear, in spite of every danger, and every where maintained the truth, regardless of his spies, whilst my conduct had the approbation of my own heart.

Thus circumstanced I travelled into Hungary, inquired, examined, and saw a favourable opportunity for acting an important part : yet I kept myself quiet, availed myself not of my personal advantages, preached patience and observance of their civil duties to the people, and acquired a knowledge of the malecontents.

From that time the emperor in general avoided seeing me, delivered me over unprotected to the chicane of the Vienna courts, and sought occasions to make me hold my tongue : yet armed with honesty I stood firm as a rock, opposed injustice,

justice, and contended against villainy, whilst conscious of my right and of my deserts my pride disdained to give way.

I had reason, however, to be particularly prudent, since, at the conference in Silesia, the great Frederic had told the credulous and suspicious emperor, that he should not confide in me, as I was a fickle and dangerous person. This he said, because he knew, that I had free access to the emperor, and had it in my power to give him such information and instruction as he might employ to benefit his own country at the expence of Prussia, and to discover to him those who were employed to seduce and mislead him.

Thus I remained inactive : and it was Frederic's aim to remove all honest and intelligent men from about Joseph, at a time when he
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was sole master, yet showed a desire of information, and consequently was in the way of sometimes receiving good advice.

Surrounded by monks and flatterers, prompted by vain boasters, encouraged by petty despots, led by inexperienced guides ; Joseph could never become great, could never become an object of his apprehension. It was his aim to keep every thing as long as possible in the old track at Vienna, and to render it impracticable for any sovereign of Austria to become a Frederic : and whilst men acquainted with the world, persons of honesty and experience, and people possessed of genius above the common level, were kept remote from all influence on affairs of state, or on the hearts and the education of young princes, the power of Prussia would stand secure.

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This was the real cause of my remaining idle during the reign of Joseph. In the beginning of it, however, I gave him several plans; but all of them were mutilated in the execution. My insurmountable detestation of the arts of the court of Rome is well known. I had here a fine field before me, and beheld with heartfelt pleasure the freedom of the press breaking forth, gross prejudices vanishing, the gates of cloisters opening, and the power of the priesthood diminishing daily. But Joseph could not disburden himself of the prejudices he had sucked in with his mother's milk; and from the period of the pope's visit to Vienna he became timid and wavering. He returned to his beads, though he counted them in private: superstition gained the ascendancy over his mind: the powers of learning

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ing and science were insufficient to emancipate him from its shackles : he began to visit the confessional, and receive absolution incognito ; and in the same way made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mary, on whose altar he offered a pair of golden eyes, in consequence of his having recovered from an ophthalmy. Every one that attempted to dissipate the mist in which he was involved now appeared to him an heretic, and an enemy to his soul. On sifting the matter to the bottom, and finding it true, I took my leave of him in silent sorrow, and lamented his dominions, fast sinking back into the mire of superstition, from which they had been nearly extricated.

He had undertaken great things ; more than was conceived possible, more

more than all his predecessors together.

In a truly heroic manner he attacked the hierarchy, and appeared determined to break all the invisible chains forged by the court of Rome: but he did not pursue his design with firmness to the close. He began his undertaking at the wrong end, wavered in its execution, and, though incredible things were actually performed in Austria, where some of the privy counsellors and ministers already began to read sensible books without asking the consent of their confessors, yet much of this new creation rolled back into its old chaos, when people again beheld the emperor kneeling as a penitent sinner before the priest, counting his beads, and publicly associating with jugglers in cowls.

Mona-

Monasteries it is true were suppressed : but the monks, instead of being sent to Rome, were disposed of in towns and villages, as preachers or vicars, where they had more opportunity than ever to spread their holy mummary amongst the people, to whom they represented themselves as the persecuted martyrs of religion, whilst they bellowed forth their controversial dogmas from every pulpit. The fame of Joseph would have been more immortal than that of all possible heroes, had he conducted with manly firmness the salutary work he began, and to the no small benefit of his dominions completely strangled the roman hydra. But he only extorted a little pelf from the clergy, and prevented them not from doubly repaying themselves out of the purses of those blockheads in whom

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they had the art to excite compassion.

His weapons were too feeble for him to gain the victory, in the contest between reason and superstition. Thus he sunk under the force of cunning, and became a fanatic in private, whilst he was ashamed of his weakness. I penetrated him at first sight; but he nowhere found help, for he ventured not to seek it. The artful spies of Rome did not let slip a favourable opportunity. With them co-operated the failure of his enterprizes, which his weak mind attributed not to his own misconduct, but to the vengeance of the founders of the sacred orders, whom he had offended both in heaven and earth. He wavered, gave way, and, had he longer lived, the inquisition had certainly been introduced into Vienna, and he would

would have invented for it new modes of torture. Heaven be praised! may we say, that, entertaining such notions, he died just in time, before the ecclesiastics associating in secret had introduced a general massacre into the austrian dominions, to rival the St. Bartholomew of France. At such a day he would have smiled, and would have given the possessions of the protestants as an indemnification to the rapacity of the monks.

Yet has Joseph the honour to be numbered amongst those great reformers, who merit the praise and gratitude of posterity, for the light they have emitted in an age of darkness. This great undertaking palliates many defects in his life; and on this account alone I respect his ashes, that after such a sanguinary education, he had courage even in

the midst of the fanatic inhabitants of Vienna to commence an attack, which, had it been stedfastly followed up, might have had the happiest effects on the human mind, and rendered essential service to the power of Austria. May heaven reward him for his good intention, and guard his successors from falling into the pit, in which romish politics have held so many kings fettered like abject slaves.

I certainly laboured with pleasure in Austria, before I was perfectly acquainted with the emperor: but as soon as he began to deem me a heretic, I foresaw the consequences of his weakness, and retired from the court, lamenting the fate of such a fine country, which block-heads knew not how to enjoy.

As Joseph now grew daily weaker from the disease he had brought upon

upon himself, his constant recourse to his beads could not diminish his fear of purgatory, the directors of his conscience only threw oil into the fire, and his own heart could not assure him, that he had lived the friend of his fellow creatures: his scruples so increased, that, for three years before his death, he was often heard repeating aloud his *Ave Maria*. Even when he indulged himself in sacrificing to Venus, on his knees he repeated a litany with the priestesses, that he might obtain absolution. So deep did he sink into the vilest superstition while alive; and he died, like the most simple capuchin friar, in the midst of agony and terrour.

No man upon earth ever suffered more in his last days than the emperor, who beheld all his designs frustrated before his death. The

brabantines, whom he despised, and for whom he would have forged chains, he saw actually shake off the yoke of his government: none of his despotic orders were obeyed: on the bed of sickness he found his reputation sunk as low as possible, while his subjects were preparing to celebrate his funeral with festivals of joy: all the commands he had issued respecting Hungary he was obliged to repeal: in every one of his political schemes he was duped: and he learnt what monarchs are who injure men of all conditions, and fancy themselves infallible, while no one ventures to tell them the truth.

Yet Joseph deserved a better fate; since in many of his undertakings his intentions were good, though they failed from his not knowing how to carry them properly

ly into execution. The freespirited brabantines should not have been dealt with like groveling austriaans; the proud hungarians, not like the stubborn natives of Bohemia. The hungarian must forget his mother-tongue, before he could consent to forego the fundamental laws or privileges of his nation. The crown, the palladium of superstition, was forcibly conveyed from Presburg to Vienna, in an ignominious manner, by soldiers of the police: and this circumstance, insignificant in itself, stirred up a whole kingdom to revolt.

The wilfulness of the emperor, who sought every where to introduce a slavish military government, and tread underfoot the rights of man, alone occasioned all the insurrections and all the insults to which in his latter days he was exposed.

posed. His personal enemies, and the foes of his dominions, availed themselves of the opportunity: whilst his tyrannical counsellors made a jest of the monarch, who had lost the hearts of his people, and under such circumstances engaged in ruinous foreign wars. In Bohemia, in Tyrol, discontented spirits already began to make their appearance. The people of Galitzia were reduced to such a point, that they had nothing to lose; and, driven to the brink of despair, they were compelled to arm in their own defence, against the villains, who, picked from the scum of all that was most abject, stupid, and rapacious in Vienna, were sent to be their governors. The consequences were easy to be foreseen, and Joseph died just in time, to prevent the separation of all the austrian provinces.

Such

Such are the effects of ruling with a rod of iron, when the despot has not the priesthood on his side and his army is engaged with foreign enemies. At a necessary epoch succeeded to the throne a gentle Leopold, whose condescension, benevolence, and magnanimity averted the threatening storm, appeased the irritated minds of the people, and allayed his fermenting states: whereas Joseph might have been termed the scourge of the earth, had the schemes, to which his lust of arbitrary power urged him, been practicable.

On this occasion I must not omit to notice the celebrated dispute concerning the Scheldt, which does the emperor little honour; and evinces, that he sought on all sides pretences to gratify his thirst of glory.

I 5 One

One count Proli, a visionary projector, and a man of large promises, came to Vienna, and established a company for trading from Trieste to the East Indies. He found prince Kaunitz, the chancellor of the exchequer, count Hatzfeld, and some other wealthy great men, with the avaricious banker Fries, ready to form a company with him. Not one of these gentlemen, however, had any knowledge of such a commerce. Count Hatzfeld asked me what I thought of it. My answer was:

The Dutch are in possession of this trade, consequently we must always buy of them. They will know before hand from their correspondents what goods we send out, and with what we load our ships home. Now the moment they find the least decrease of their trade, they will freight their vessels with the same
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merchandize as we, and sell it at thirty per cent loss: then will our bankruptcy be inevitable. On the other hand, they will soon indemnify themselves for this loss, as their capital and credit will bear them out. Besides, at least eight ships must be employed in the East India trade, to make the gain balance the loss, in case of an accident. When the austrians engage in it with only two, therefore, if one of them be cast away, there is an end to the trade.

I knew, too, the character of count Proh, who would take care to enrich himself, at the expence of his partners. But no attention was paid to my advice; and within two years my predictions were fulfilled.

The vessels were laden, and under the name of Kaunitz proudly

set sail. The ship captain Sampson already threatened the Philistines of Holland, that he would pull their temple of commerce about their ears. None of the partners, however, was prepared to lend him a jaw-bone, should he need it to slay his thousands upon thousands.

The emperor Joseph himself entrusted the adventurer with half a million of florins out of the public treasury.

Already the ships, one of which was to load at Ostend, were expected back.

Fries in the mean time had been informed of a toll upon the Scheldt. His avarice prompted him with the wish to save this, his share of which probably would not have amounted to a hundred florins. This trifle gave rise to the dispute concerning that river. Every occasion for employing

ploying his arms against a free people was welcome to Joseph. He resolved, before he saw, or even thought of, the consequences.—

The menace was issued, and all guaranties and treaties laughed at. Joseph was determined, that the navigation of the Scheldt should be free, though he had not a single bark to launch on its waters. Holland asserted its right, and threatened to fire on the imperial flag.

This the emperor told Fries, and appeared undecided. The banker answered :—the Dutch will never have courage to fire a cannon against your majesty's colours.—But if they should fire?—I will give myself to the devil for a farthing if they do.

—Yet notwithstanding suppose they should ? replied Joseph.—Then, fire

fire, for a war; and the conquest of Holland.

The prudent emperor followed the merchants counsel. The Dutch actually fired. Thus the affront was given. Now was the army marched for Holland; and the predatory bands of Walachia were embodied, to plunder every ducat in Amsterdam. But, alas! all ended with disgrace, they returned home with empty pockets, the expences of the war were lavished to no purpose, Fries's vessel was cast away before it arrived at the Scheldt, count Proli, the director, declared the gulled company bankrupt, and it was reported at Paris, that the queen of France privately conveyed ten millions of florins to Holland, to save the emperor's honour. He appeared, however, on the political theatre, as an usurper, and a perturbator

turbator of the public peace, who contemptuously trampled on the most sacred articles of the treaty of Westphalia.

As this dispute about the Scheldt gave the people of Vienna scope to indulge the expectations of that vanity to which they are prone, and the emperor was already preparing for his coronation in Amsterdam, I went to Schoenbrunn, and paid a visit to the head gardener van der Schott, a man whom I much esteemed, as he possessed more real knowledge, than many of the counsellors of state. As soon as the first salutations were over, he said: the emperor has just been with me, and stood talking more than an hour. Amongst other things, I said to him: with your majesty's permission, I will write to Haarlem, for a few slips of flowers——The emperor started

started from his seat: his eyes flashed fire—No, answered he—you shall not write—within six weeks I will fetch them myself from Haarlem, at the head of my army.

The gardener who knew the Dutch, and knew the emperor, laughed heartily within himself at his inconsiderate ambition, and endeavoured to convince him, that it was no easy matter to proceed to Haarlem with an army so expeditiously. The monarch treated him with contemptuous raillery; called him a dutch patriot, and a blockhead; declared upon his honour, that he had already given orders for marching straight to Amsterdam; and left him much displeased, that he doubted the success of the expedition, and pretended to be wiser than he and all his counsel.

Thus

Thus opiniative was the monarch, with respect to his power and skill in politics, obstinate in the pursuit of his unenlightened conceptions, and yet feeble in the execution of them.

The disgraceful termination of the war of the Scheldt, which was actually occasioned by the money-broker Fries, was soon followed by the death of that excellent political counsellor.

One after another the emperor stopped up every source, from which the banker's riches flowed. He had found out the way in Vienna to persuade the court to encourage monopolies, and to lead the ministers to prodigal indulgence and abuse of the public treasures. Nothing escaped Fries, and he had the art of blinding men, so that like chaffinches in a cage, they would sing at court for him alone.

lone. He was the most avaricious miser upon the face of the earth: yet, not satisfied with the honour of being the wealthiest man in Vienna, he purchased the title of count, as soon as he was master of four millions, and resolved when he had increased them to eight to become a prince.

He was aware, however, that the emperor obstructed the farther accumulation of his wealth. All his attempts had hitherto proved successful.—When one of his schemes failed for the first time; when he discovered, that it was impracticable for him to attain to eight millions, and the rank of prince; he took the last resource of proud avaricious sharks; he purchased a halter, and hanged himself up in his own palace. This is the truth of a story, which so much pains have been taken to conceal at Vienna, and this the real end

end of the wealthy banker Fries. From my heart I wish, that every one, who aims to grow rich by sharping, monopolizing, and court favour, may experience the same fate.

I could not avoid wishing the same end to the chancellor of the exchequer in Hungary, count Graffalkowitz, who reduced to poverty many worthy families, that he might purchase the title of prince for his heirs, those useless members of the community. Me and my children he deprived of some millions, in despite of all the fundamental laws of the realm; and in sending to his own house waggons laden with gold, silver, and valuables, for which he never accounted to the exchequer, he committed an actual robbery. All Hungary knows, that he was a poor charity scholar, never carried on any business, and
yet

yet left behind him six millions. This sum he could not certainly have saved out of his salary: consequently he could not have acquired it by honest means. A fig escapes me unavoidably. Theresa gave him a commission to plunder, and his children have married into such families, and are allied to so many grandees, that it is utterly impossible for me or my children ever to obtain our right. He is now dead; and his son, at present a prince among princes, as a Slav. D***k is amongst jackpuddings, struts in costly furs, purchased with the property of the family of Trenck, instead of going humbly as he ought clad in hungarian frieze. I wish him that heaven in which Fries is now counting his ducats; and I pray, that the heirs of my misfortunes may have better opportunity to execute
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what my excessive highmindedness led me to neglect. If the present monarch read these pages, may he do more than his predecessors in the cause of justice, and fulfil the duties of a prince, when I in my grave pity those who must bow before the wealthy privileged robbers of a court. The emperor Joseph would not make reparation; the emperor Leopold could not; and I am too old, too long illtreated, too well acquainted with the world, to take fresh humiliating steps before a young prince, who will not impeach the fame of his predecessors, for the sake of doing justice to a man, who cannot lead an army into the field, and who neglected the opportunity he once had to make himself of consequence.

But to return to the biography of Joseph.

This

This potentate, who only sought occasion for war, and with raw uncultivated talents, wished to imitate the great Frederic, of whom however he formed an erroneous judgment, suffered himself easily to be involved in a quarrel with Turkey, to which he was led principally by the russian ambaffador at Vienna, prince Galitzin, whom I well knew, and always considered as the most dangerous enemy of the house of Austria: yet was he the oracle of the emperor, and inveigled him into that pit which was dug for him by the politicians of the north.

The penetrating Frederic said ten years before to his minister, who warned him against the enterprizes of Joseph:

All the endeavours in the world will not keep him at peace for six years: for in less than that time, if
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he have no employment abroad, he will turn every thing topsyturvey at home, and will have insurrections on every side.

He who knew that monarch as I did, and has been an eye witness of his capacity, his character, his conduct, will perceive evident tokens of the great Frederic in this just prediction. Yet he soon thought proper, when discontent in general prevailed among the subjects of Joseph, to bring a turkish war upon his hands, to weaken him without trouble, as actually happened, then to humble him, and to become the dictator of Europe.

Joseph suffered himself to be seduced, inconsiderately broke loose, and formed a plan of operations, that ruined his army, exhausted his treasure, unmasked the tragedy hero, and exposed him in his real state of
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nakedness: whereby he lost all esteem, power, and the fame he sought; nay ultimately his reputation, his honour, the love of his subjects, and even his life; leaving to the heir of his crown an herculean task, to preserve his dominions from utter ruin. His campaigns, his military operations, evince neither the great man nor the hero. History records not another instance of two hundred thousand men so contemptibly, so badly conducted, so inactively led to the slaughter. No sooner, however, had he quitted the army, and relinquished the part of a hero, for which he was formed neither by nature nor art, to men who, taught by experience, understood the trade, but the face of things was wholly changed: and now Frederic thought proper to dictate the *ne plus ultra*,

ultra, and prescribed laws to enfeebled Austria.

The treacherous scheme of surprising Belgrade in the midst of peace, though it failed from the stupid measures taken, will remain an eternal blot in the history of the rights of nations. No man of honour can attempt to justify it, and here the heart of Joseph stands fully displayed.

Indeed a striking contrast was observable in this potentate, whom nature intended for the slave of ambition.

He possessed every mental gift requisite for a great prince: but his education was faulty; and when he endeavoured to remedy its defects, he fell into bad hands. As his disposition was by nature prone to despotism, cruelty, and insensibility; as he had to do with a nation

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totally

totally depraved, and incapable of being amended otherwise than by force, and severe punishments; as he found insurmountable obstacles to every innovation that tended to good; as he was a sworn enemy to literature, of which he had no just idea; he would actually have been the severest of tyrants, had his life been of longer duration.

Here and there a glimmering light appeared, but he would not give himself the trouble to search after truth. The notions he imbibed in his childhood he was never able to surmount, because he wanted the will to fortify his understanding. He began, it is true, to see, to inquire, to remark the cunning of the priesthood, and to reform—but, alas! steadfastness was wanting; scruples laid hold of his mind—the emissaries of Rome knew how

to turn his weakness to their advantage; sorrow and repentance soon took their turn; and the most important projects for the weal of mankind were shaken to their foundations. He had the best inclinations to break the yoke of infantile prejudices—was ashamed at his inability to imitate the great Frederic, whom he had taken as a pattern—and knelt in secret at the confessional, before his indecisiveness would permit him, to avow himself openly a slave of the church.

It is, no doubt, more becoming for a prince, blindly to believe every thing that Rome enjoins to be believed, to let others perform good works for him, to acquire by affiliation a common right in all the privileges of franciscans, capuchins, and monks of every order, than to merit heaven by virtuous and noble

actions of his own. Better is it, more convenient is it, to let a father confessor think and pray for him, than laboriously to search after truth himself. It is very quieting to the conscience to disburden itself once a week of all its troubles in the lump, and purchase heaven by a voluntary absolution ; instead of living as the heretic reprobated by a righteous God thinks, and the impious atheist believes he does, to merit acceptance and peace of mind by the fulfilment of all their duties towards mankind here in this earthly community, and rather acting well, than indulging in deeds of shame on the strength of penance, and the vicarious prayers of others.

Thus Joseph chose what in his judgment was the best : and his conduct during his illness, and at his death, proved, that I formed a just opinion

opinion of him, at a time when every one hoped he was about to chace from his territories superstition, and extend the empire of reason. I observed him closely in all his proceedings for four and twenty years. I sought to gain the confidence of those who had brought him up, who were his guides, who were as monarchs to him; and I resolved ever to keep at as great a distance from him as possible, and not to endeavour to ingratiate myself with him, as his assistants and implements must be the enemies of mankind.

During his journey into Russia he acquired a taste for governing with clubs and scourges; and his observance of the hungarians in Walachia tended not to increasē his sensibility. Like walachians, he was tempted to treat his subjects; and punishments and tortures were in-
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vented,

vented, which, if disclosed, would make all men shudder.

He who has beheld the poor wretches condemned to drag vessels upon the rivers, their limbs laden with chains, their toil almost too severe for human strength, to which sickness brought no abatement, nor were the pangs of disease ever mitigated by the expression of pity, till, eaten up by vermin, they actually gave up the ghost; he who has observed the fearful prisons of Joseph, where men were immured and rivetted fast in the midst of their own filth; he who, knowing the manner in which they were tried, saw Zekely, lieutenant-colonel of the hungarian guards, in the pillory at Vienna, and count Potztatzky, half cudgelled to death on a ship's gangway, languish and die; draws the curtain over them with grief and horror, enraged
against

against the unfeelingness and despotism of the tyrant ; passes over in silence what he has really seen and known, as posterity must think such actions impossible to have taken place in our days, and in a christian country ; and is glad to flee naked from dominions where bastilles are not yet destroyed, and where such dreadful scenes are not yet impossible.

Joseph was naturally inclined to cruelty, but he did not exercise it, till the failure of so many of his enterprizes augmented his hatred of mankind, and rendered his heart obdurate to the sufferings of others. Even in his childhood, when he could get at one of his sister's canary birds, he would pluck off its feathers, break its legs, and put it again into the cage yet alive. To torture animals, above all to ride

horses to death, and to cudgel dogs, were his chief amusements. Even when emperor, he would go to Saxenburg, to the falconry, at five o'clock in the morning, when the birds were to be fed, would take the pigeon destined for that purpose alive in his hand, turn it upon its back, and let the falcon devour it from the belly upwards, whilst he observed with smiles every convulsive motion of the suffering victim: this was to him the supreme enjoyment of life.

He went into the most horrible prisons, not to bestow grace on the wretches confined in them, but to sharpen their punishments, which he viewed with eager eyes, inventing new ones himself, which would never have entered into the mind of a Nero. Even the women who were destined to his pleasures were tor-
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tured by his hand, as he was insensible to the stimulus of tenderness or desire. Of all the women who fancied they had gained some ascendancy over him he made a jest; he despised them after receiving their favours, and in his most amorous moments treated them like a brute. To prove it I could relate a hundred affecting or ridiculous anecdotes, which modesty bids me conceal, as I would by no means permit any indelicacy to shock my readers. What follows, however, I must relate, as it serves to delineate his character.

The emperor Francis died suddenly in his arms of an apoplexy, and only prince Dietrichstein was present at the shocking scene. As his father lay on his left arm in the agonies of death, the son smiling took the keys out of his pocket

with his right hand, too impatient to wait till he had breathed his last.

When his mother Theresa was on her death bed, she gave him such a severe lecture on the badness of his heart, that he flung himself on the floor, wept, and rolled about in despair.

Six hours after the empress died. Immediately he repaired to the apartment of the chief governante, who was present at the foregoing scene, and said to her, with a smiling countenance and a jesting mien :

“ Countess, that was a fine fight a few hours ago : it was an excellent joke——did you really believe me in earnest ? ”

He, who in such circumstances could so act, had certainly no soul for what is great or noble : for the truth of these two anecdotes I pledge my honour.

Not

Not for the pleasure of the chase, but from the thirst of murder, he delighted in hunting, where well guarded he would plunge his pike again and again into the dying animals, and listen to their groans as they lay defenceless growling out their pangs. Bear-fights he highly enjoyed ; particularly when a horse, delivered to wild bears raging with hunger, was devoured alive, neighing, snorting, and rolling his eyes in agony. He permitted the savage custom of baiting beasts at Vienna, to accustom the abject inhabitants to such fights, till an opportunity should offer to make them undergo the same fate. These were the best of all theatres and schools for hangmen, gaolers, commanders, and drill-sergeants ; though they did little honour to the national character, whilst at them tender-

hearted females shouted applause, when a bear had seized a swine and torn out his bowels, and the mingled uproar of drums, trumpets, and the cries of the animals tickled their ears, or a dog, his belly ripped up by the tusks of a wild boar, lay sprawling in the ring, to gratify their eyes. Nay the more barbarity the keepers displayed, in dragging the poor beasts to the fight from their dens with their iron crooks, the more was the reputation of the bear-gardens enhanced.

Joseph loved only hunting at force, when the stag, panting to escape, lolled out the tongue with fatigue, and received from the hand of majesty the death blow, that put an end to his torment. Unhappy the land, of whose sovereign war and savage hunting are the occupations! From doing good
Joseph

Joseph derived no satisfaction; the business of government was soon a burden to him; and, as he never read a book, was a stranger to the sciences, and avoided the society of all men who were wiser than himself, he soon found time hang heavy on his hands, and sought war, and long journeys, to pass it away. In war, however he was timid, intrenched himself, and remained inactive before far inferior forces; and was the sole occasion, that a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, who might have attacked and defeated the enemy with ease, perished in hospitals for want of proper care. Thus he was a feeble general, a weak lawgiver, a severe judge, and consequently a prince unfortunate in all his undertakings. I wrote the following lines for his epitaph.

“ Joseph

“ Joseph attempted much completed nought,
But what to all his subjects sorrow brought.”

In his funeral sermon, which I published, with permission, at Vienna, I inserted the following passage.

“ Over his grave his subjects have sufficient reason to shed tears; but not derived from that source, whence they ought to flow.”

Yet had he some good qualities. He was laborious, but employed himself too much in trifles. He appeared humane and open-hearted, and in society was a pleasant companion; yet in his heart he made a jest of every man without exception. He was always sober, temperate in his meals, and drank no wine; but in the gratification of his lusts he was brutishly immoderate. In little things mean and avaricious, he was prodigal

prodigal in great ones, when they indulged favourite passions, his pride, his obstinacy, or his ambition. In private he kept a black book, in which he wrote the names of persons, whom, at a proper time, he intended to persecute and ruin. This his successor burnt, without opening it.

His truly heroic enterprize against the romish hierarchy would have been an eternal monument to his honour, had he not wavered in its execution. The ice was broken, the obstacles removed, and the victory over superstition certain. The freedom of the press had already performed miracles—but the revolution in Brabant alarmed him, and showed him, that a tyrant needs the assistance of the church, to co-operate with him in his attempts on the liberties of mankind.

The

The french revolution added to his terroure; and the cunning monks judiciously represented the devil in such a fearful shape to his unsettled mind, that he fell into the lowest gulph of fanaticism.

The state, indeed, would have gained considerable sums by the suppression of so many monasteries, had the commissioners employed on the occasion been honest disinterested men. The imprudent wars, however, entered into by the emperor, dissipated more than twice the amount; and his truly expensive journeys, which were of no service either to himself or his people, counteracted every scheme that tended to enrich the treasury, and in fact rendered it empty. His amours cost him little, as they extended only to girls of a low class, who made no heavy demands on his purse,

purse. In Paris, indeed, and in Venice, they plucked him a little. Yet, though he thus saved his money, he paid dearly in his health, as the diseases consequent to an intercourse with such women conducted him, by a painful death, at an early period, to his tomb.

His inclination to make his dominions prosperous, and to correct abuses on all sides, was certainly good: but he was too precipitate in every thing, heaped ordinances upon ordinances, half digested his projects, was too short sighted in their application, indecisive in his conduct, never consistent with himself, hasty in issuing edicts, obscure and equivocal in his expressions, advising with his counsel after he had expedited his decrees, which were then followed by explanatory acts, and soon after repealed.

Mul-

Multifariousness and obscurity in laws are the most certain signs of a weak legislator: and no where can these be more conspicuous, than in his code, which some pettifogger must have scraped together; for since its use lawsuits have been multiplied without end, counsellors and attorneys have been enriched, the judges are not a whit more honest, injustice and deceit have no check, and all who are oppressed may sigh unpitied. Another proof of his weakness appears in his attention to tale-bearers, and whisperers of scandal. All Vienna and Hungary swarmed with pensioned spies, who had it in their power to ruin the most honest of mankind. Even the commonest strumpets were employed by him for this purpose; and his private society could boast no great, no learned, no enlightened man.

With

With all the cunning he displayed, he was more deceived than any of his predecessors, as all things united to blind his eyes, impose on his credulity, and weary him out; whilst so many projects wandered through his brain, that he maturely considered none of them, stumbled at the most superficial obstacles and had too little firmness to persevere in a laborious undertaking, whence he was ever wavering and undecided.

His inconsistency will ever remain wonderful. He appeared an enemy to monks; yet knelt before them at the confessional. From places of pilgrimage he ordered the votive tables to be removed; yet, in consequence of a vow, on recovering from an inflammation that had attacked his organs of sight, himself

himself offered at the shrine of Mary
a pair of golden eyes.

He permitted people to write
openly against the gross abuses of
religion, against the tricks and im-
postures of monks; yet he daily
counted his beads, to obtain abso-
lution. He wished to act the part
of a hero; yet he never ventured
to attack the weakest of all possible
enemies, displayed the cowardliness
of his heart on every occasion, re-
mained a whole year inactive be-
fore Belgrade, saw his best soldiers
bleed unrevenged, and his igno-
minious retreat from Schupaneck,
with his reputed invincible army,
when he had nothing to fear, will
remain an eternal record of disgrace
in the military history of Austria.
He wished to be beloved; yet acted
in the most arbitrary manner. He
wished to be thought just; yet suf-
fered

ferred unjust judges to go unpunished. He wished to be an economist; yet squandered the public treasure in his own arbitrary and obstinate measures.

In seeking to promote industry, he annihilated it. In seeking to improve the internal constitution of his states, he offended all classes of men, occasioned discontent and commotions, and at so improper a time engaged in a turkish war, the consequences of which must inevitably frustrate all his designs.

He was desirous to appear just, without being so: inflicted punishments arbitrarily, and never rewarded with willingness; pardoned none, and aggravated the sentences of criminals, without regarding the laws. Nature bestowed on him an understanding, which he knew not how to employ. A slave to superstition,

stition, he wished to seem superior to its prejudices. In short, considered in a true light, he was a singular man. Actually wiser than any of his predecessors, he yet threw every thing into such confusion, that the total destruction of the austrian monarchy must have ensued, had he lived half a year longer, and not been succeeded by a mild, prudent, laborious man, capable of accommodating matters in time, and effecting the convention of Reichenbach. Joseph's sneering look, and biting raillery, were sufficient to prevent every physiognomist, every man of sagacity, from placing the least confidence in him. His memory was strong: he had learnt abroad many bon mots, many sentences, many expressions, which he could introduce very patly upon occasion: he studied overnight,

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what he should produce the next day, to appear a man of wit and learning: and as a monarch he had it always in his power to lead the conversation to any premeditated subject, on which he would excite admiration.

Every stranger, who knew him not, wondered at the extent of his knowledge: but he who sifted him thoroughly, and sought substantial proofs, found it all superficial, and nothing but a chaos at bottom. On such occasions, he would break off the conversation abruptly, to prevent a detection of his weakness. On this account all his projects were sure to fail: on this account his imitation of the great Frederic succeeded so badly, that he must inevitably be the jest of every man of understanding.

At

At first, before I well knew him, I travailed much, and did much for him.

He knew, that I had some credit with the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and proposed to me, to endeavour to get into his service general Schlieffen, whom he wished to employ as a financier. My answer was:

The landgrave was my benefactor, when he was governor of Magdeburg. I cannot behave to him like an ungrateful scoundrel. Your majesty has not furnished me with credentials to his court, and I will not go thither as a spy, and a kidnapper.

On my return from Berlin, he wanted to learn from me the names of the brabantine and hungarian deputies, who sought protection there.

there. I told him, that I knew nothing of the matter.—He did not believe me; but he saw, that I was no spy, no informer; and his looks told me what he thought.

In the bavarian war, as I have already observed, I was to raise a corps, and plunder my native country.

This proposal I flatly rejected, and thus increased his suspicions. As I had accepted, and received for five years, a pension from the then king of Prussia, on every occasion he was ready to show me displeasure and contempt, so that I had determined to bid adieu to his dominions, had he not left this world.

My journey into Hungary in the year 1787, and the striking manner in which I was there received and respected, especially as he

knew that I had millions to demand there, and found so much esteem and distinction at Berlin, enhanced my danger from a prince who was readier to punish than reward, and who thought no pure virtue could exist in the breast of a man that had been injured. Now however, it is generally known, that I remained an honest man to both parties, and acted in a very ticklish situation with honour and esteem, regardless of my own advantage, and of my just revenge: and this is my reward.

Fond of spies and informers, Joseph was but the more deceived. He paid them well, to the cost of many an honest man. His intimates were mean contemptible persons; and with these he would converse for hours. The celebrated Hundmichl, as he was called, a great

great thief, named Grossing, and some others of the like stamp, were his private newsmongers, whom he most graciously cudgelled for his amusement, and the moment after shook hands with amicably, and employed as his pimps.

Enough: I have already said more of the man than I wished. I could fill a volume with anecdotes scarcely credible, of which I know for a certainty the truth. These I leave to his biographer, who, no more addicted to flattery than myself, has from consequences less to dread. God be praised, that he rests in his grave, and has left not such another ruler behind him. Me he repaid with the blackest ingratitude, fulfilling none of his promises to me, and for my children doing nothing: my rights he suffered to be invaded

with impunity, and by delusive pretences robbed me of four and twenty years of my life, which most assuredly I could have employed more to my advantage in other countries. At least every honest writer is justified in proclaiming the truth of departed tyrants; and biographers who flatter princes destitute of soul betray posterity. Joseph would have lost all his dominions had his life been prolonged. Had he possessed the talents and good fortune of Frederic, he would have spread slaughter and devastation far and wide.

I will now give a true picture of a court of justice at Vienna, as I promised, for which I have legal documents and proofs in my hands. Then every reader, who has a just suit to litigate, will assuredly start with abhorrence, and say :

say:—why didst thou live so long in Austria, Trenck? Certainly it was not a country for men like thee.

The *judicium militare mixtum*, consisting of military men and regimental judges, or justices, was my *forum competens*, my proper court, as I wore an uniform.

Prince Charles Lichtenstein, a man of probity and noble sentiments, was president; but he seldom sat on the bench. The humane, just, and sagacious general Faber, over whose head four-score summers had now passed, was to preside in his absence. Unfortunately he was an invalid, so afflicted with the gout, that the greater part of the year he was confined to his bed; of course he did not often make his appearance. After him the presidentship devolved

on general baron Kæsporn, an honest man, unskilled however in the law, which he had not studied, and unable to contend with the disputatious pettifoggers, by whom he was overpowered. A peaceable man, he sat quiet on the bench and seldom contradicted what was said: besides, he was the only soldier there, and had but one voice. The justices, as they are called, or pettifoggers, as they might more properly be termed, were Zetto von Kronsdorf, esq., counsellor of regency, and an auditor of the name of Demscher.

Zetto was speaker, and first referendary. He was notorious in Vienna, as the greatest rascal and perverter of justice, who boggled at no deed of iniquity, lavished all he could scrape together on strumpets, and left his wife and children

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in want. But he had a handsome daughter, who visited the emperor; and through her interest he sat as referendary on the seat of justice. Prince Lichtenstein too was an immoderate lover of the fair sex, and protected him for similar reasons: three times he paid his debts for him, and twice he saved him from the gallows, for the sake of his family. This bad man at that time governed the whole bench, as he was possessed of cunning, fluency of speech, and the practice of the courts, in the highest degree; and he would have been an excellent referendary, had he been capable of acting as an honest man.

Demscher had not wealth enough to support the prodigality of his domestic arrangements, and therefore availed himself of a fine daughter, whom Wetzlar the jew had

gotten with child and supported. His hate to me was unbounded, as, being a zealot, he fancied himself making an acceptable sacrifice to God in persecuting me as a heretic. He was my referendary in a certain cause, laid his decision before the council, it was approved, and he privately substituted instead of it another totally different. When this made its appearance, having passed the supreme court, those who were present knew it not to be that which had before been read. It was injurious to the honour both of me and my attorney Dorfner. It was obliged to be presented to us. I cried aloud for justice, and my attorney demanded public reparation. This he obtained, as it was unavoidable, and Demscher asked his pardon. To me, however, none was given: and the sentence

was

was put in force, to my great injury.

This very man now sits as a judge and referendary in the supreme military court. Heaven defend me from ever having to seek justice in it!

To his place succeeded the counsellor of regency baron Waldstätten. He was poor, and had in due form let his wife to baron Krechtler, the son of a wealthy contractor, who kept the house, allowed the husband six thousand florins a year, for his private expences, and lived publicly with the baroness as his mistress. Krechtler died in less than two years, and left a fortune of more than two millions to the daughter, then three years old, whom he believed to be his own child, though she bore the name of the reputed father.

Whether a man who so basely makes money of his wife be a fit person to occupy the seat of judgment; whether justice can be expected from one who lives without honour, and who has rendered his interested spirit so notorious; I leave to the decision of my reader, and particularly to him by whom judges are elected.

The secretary of this college, the son of a subtle counsellor at law, one Fillenbaum, esq., led the whole, and spoke more in the council than all the rest who were present; whilst Zetto and he played into each others hands, as they traded in partnership, and shared all their booty. He was particularly protected by prince Lichtenstein, because his handsome wife had formerly been the prince's mistress. Indeed Fillenbaum with much vanity showed his eldest son

to every body, boasting that he was the child of the prince, who, as he declared, gave him a present of three hundred ducats at his christening.

The knave Zetto laboured in concert with this artful pettifogger, and procured him the administration of the best estates, on which they batten together.

Thus by Zetto's direction Fillenbaum was appointed trustee in my case; and within two years he pocketed upwards of four thousand florins belonging to his trust, beside injuring it to three times that amount.

If Zetto had any report to make for me, it remained unnoticed till I had made Fillenbaum a present of a chest of champagne, or a purse of fifty ducats, to quicken Mr. reporter: then the booty was divided in a brotherly manner.

How poor wards fared in the hands of such trustees I will here explain.

Every year the trustee makes out his account, and delivers it to the council. A Zetto takes it to examine and report; consequently the trustee is always commended, and his account passed by the whole college.

I will give an instance known to all Vienna.

The daughter of an officer, a handsome girl, was a ward of the court, with a fortune of eighteen or twenty thousand florins. The trustee concerted a plan with a vagabond, who gave himself out for a count, but was in reality a montenegrine banditto, and a detestable fellow. With the guardian's consent, the marriage contract was drawn up, and a considerable jointure settled on

on the bride. She, with her worthy mother, was now summoned before the court of Vienna. The respectable widow opposed the marriage, and, with all the eloquence of a parent, demanded protection for her only child.—The daughter did the same, fell on her knees, and declared, that she could not marry a man so savage.—Nought availed: nought excited the commiseration of the judges. Zetto carried the business through, and the marriage was judicially decreed. The bridegroom received the capital from the hands of Zetto and the trustee, not without a considerable deduction, no doubt, and speedily departed with his wife for Hungary. Here he lived three months, attended by his fellow banditti in splendid liveries. At length, after having used his wife cruelly, he

he quitted the country, leaving her naked, penniless, and with child.

The mother now repaired to Vienna, demanding pity, demanding justice. No heed being given to her complaints, she fled to the emperor. He, according to the Vienna custom, sent the case to be examined into by the very court in which the shameful deed had taken place. It may easily be imagined what kind of a report was made on it, for their own justification, by those by whom it had been perpetrated. The monarch could not refuse credit to them, and all hope of compensation was frustrated. As if this had not been sufficient, the weeping mother was driven away by the officers of the court, as a frivolous and vexatious complainant, her petition was trodden under foot, and the unfortunate daughter lives now in the greatest

greatest misery. I myself gave her an alms when she lay in.

Nor was this all.—A thousand florins still remained due, which were not paid with the rest to the bridegroom, as they were not forthcoming. The deserted wife fell on her knees before the court, and prayed for this money for her support. The infamous guardian, however, protested that her baptismal register had been falsified, and that she was not of age. Zetto admitted it, and said, that the money belonged to the child, not to the wife; and she received not a single farthing. This was the sentence of the very man, who did not say, that she was a minor, when he delivered her and her fortune into the hands of a sharper.

Thus fare wards in Vienna; and similar occurrences are by no means rare.

rare. What is worst of all, advocates or attorneys, who can purchase the protection of the judges, are always chosen for guardians and trustees. I knew one attorney who had forty three wards, and regularly took his percentage without cheating himself; not to mention that he well knew how to make out a bill of expences. Thus, too, the celebrated Zetto and Fillenbaum had a number of estates to administer: even I, in the sixtieth year of my age, found myself obliged to be their pupil, and to lie at the mercy of such knaves.

The other assistants in this *judicio militari mixto* were a good, old, but easy, counsellor of regency, and a submissive notary, whose pen was guided by Fillenbaum.

The following process I shall circumstantially relate, to open the eyes

eyes of the monarch himself, if he should peruse my narrative. The *acta* and *probata* are at Vienna, in the hands Mr. von Weyrauch, solicitor to the court, who conducted the cause for me with great credit, and actually gained it against the bench. Such a case is not to be paralleled in Vienna, and every honest man must shudder at it when told. I shall not conceal a single circumstance, as will appear from the documents, if they be examined.

I lived at the time with my family in the free imperial town of Aix, and drew my pension from the military chest in Brussels.

Thither I sent my quarterly acquittance, in order to receive the money, but had for answer, that my pension was stopped by the supreme military court at Vienna,

on

on account of a bill of exchange of seven hundred florins, with one and twenty years interest in arrear, which, having been cast, I had been condemned to pay.

Now I knew, that I was indebted to no man upon earth, and I had never heard a single word of the lawsuit.—I knew Vienna: the affair appeared to me astonishing: at the same time it roused my sense of honour. Immediately I took post, and hastened to Vienna, a distance of 130 miles. Here I learnt, that one Buffy, an attorney, an assistant of Zetto, had sued me for a bill of exchange of seven hundred florins, dated 1753, and payable to one Fleischmann, who was hung for swindling and forgery fifteen years ago.

The cause was formally conducted in the *judicio militari mixto*, and
false

false postmarks from Aix were produced, so that I was regularly nonsuited, and condemned to pay the money. Zetto, the reporter on the occasion, was in concert with Buffy, had himself forged the bill, and always made false reports: hence a surreptitious sentence was by no means impossible to be obtained, and its confirmation in the supreme military court was procured by similar means.

There was in Vienna no instance of such a sentence of both upper and lower courts being repealed.

I had no doubt about the matter; however I demanded my note. This was refused me with insolence, under the pretext, that a copy of it had been sent me, that I had taken no notice of it, and that now a decision had been made.

Imme-

Immediately I went to the emperor, complained aloud of an evident fraud, and requested a rule for a new trial. My charging the supreme military court with a false judgment incensed him highly: but I asserted my right, and offered to prove it, on pain of being rendered publicly infamous. This put him to a stand; he granted me the rule, and wished me success.

I now sought a counsel: no one, however, would accept my brief, in a cause of injustice and forgery, against two courts of justice, for fear of making enemies. At length I found the honest court solicitor Weyrauch. He saw through the business at once, perceived the conduct of Zetto, and undertook the cause. He appeared in court with the rule: Zetto stormed, abused him, threw the rule at him as an insult to

(237)
to the court, and endeavoured to frighten him, by threatening, that he should be put in irons, and consigned to a tipstaff, if he engaged in such a malicious cause, and lost it. Weyrauch, nevertheless, continued firm; and demanded a day for the inspection of the note, and for producing it in open court. Well aware, that I had a wife and children at Aix-la-Chapelle, and of course could not remain long at Vienna, on account of the expence, this was put off for six weeks; though, in a case so urgent, it ought to have been appointed within three days. At length the day was fixed. I appeared in person. Instead of the original, however, an authenticated copy from the register only was produced.

In the course of the process it appeared from the records, that the
2 register,

register, being bribed, had actually given in a false copy. This was legally proved, but when sentence was given it remained unpunished.

My attorney now pressed for producing the original, according to law, to prove it a forgery. This should have been done immediately; but Zetto contrived to put it off for two months. The plaintiff now did not appear. Here was a fresh delay of six weeks. At length the original was brought forward.

On the first view of it all the judges were at a stand. In three different places of the bill, the sum and date had been erased, so as to leave holes in the paper.

The receipt of interest on it, in October 1754, was acknowledged at bottom in a different hand. A monk, a father confessor at Vienna, made

made oath, that he was present when I paid this: and my attorney proved, that I had been five months in prison at Magdeburg, at the time when this receipt was given. When the bill was held up to the light, it appeared clearly, that it was a note of mine for one hundred florins, which had been changed into seven hundred. The figure one was still distinguishable, and a seven was written over it. The proper date, too, was 1751, which agreed with the account book of the office, then produced, in which it appeared, that my note to Fleischmann for a hundred florins had been paid. All this was proved beyond dispute at the first sitting. Every one said——the bill is forged, null, and not valid.——Now began Zetto to hold forth with all his eloquence, and to maintain, that it
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was a matter of two much importance to accuse the judges of an error so peremptorily. Buffy, previously tutored by him, requested that he might be allowed to produce witnesses ; and it was decreed, that this weighty cause should be carried through in due form. By this Zetto hoped to gain time ; knowing, that I could not remain at Vienna, and imagining, that he could soon get the better of my attorney, by new frauds.

What was now to be done ? I was obliged to give my attorney full powers to act for me, and return to Aix-la-Chapelle, without seeing my cause finished, notwithstanding I had remained eight months at Vienna on account of it alone. Is not the infamy of the proceedings of this court sufficiently evident, when eight months were thus wasted,

ed, before the cause came to its first hearing?

It may not be improper in this stage of the business to give my reader a key to the whole affair.

On my unfortunate journey to Dantzic, in the year 1754, I left my splendid equipage, and all my papers, with the regiment in Hungary. When I returned ten years after, I found only one of the lieutenants living. The colonel, the quarter-master, and all my comrades, were dead, or dismissed. What became of my equipage I could never learn, and I was told, that my papers had been sent to Vienna, to counsellor Huettner. He, however, professed to know nothing of them. Urged by vexation I left Austria, and lived fourteen years at Aix-la Chapelle, as I have related in the former part of my history.

Through accident, or something worse, my papers must have fallen into the hands of Zetto. Amongst them he found this note for a hundred florins, which I had forgotten to cancel, made the alterations in it, took advantage of my absence, employed Buffy the attorney as his coadjutor, Buffy was to sue for it, he had to report the cause, and conducted the whole villainy, whilst the booty was shared between them. The documents prove all this clearly; and, on the failure of the scheme, Buffy was obliged to abscond, to save the credit of the college.

It is remarkable too, that, when I was imprisoned at Magdeburg, it was in due form announced in the gazette, that all who had demands on me should make their claims within two years, otherwise they

they would be deemed void. This bill of exchange, however, was not produced; of course, had it even not been a forgery, it would have been on this account null, and I was not liable to be sued for it. Certainly, too, the holder of it would not have waited so patiently for one and twenty years.

I being now absent, the cause was conducted scriptorily. In spite of all my attorney's zeal, three years passed away: a thousand subterfuges were devised, to postpone the decision: whole reams of paper were written: oaths evidently false were admitted: and no stone was left unturned to weary me out. At length Zetto came forwards, and reported, that the cause was ready for decision, and that my complaint of injustice was frivolous.

General Faber, however, the president, was an honest man, and saw through the treachery. He directed, therefore, that, as the monarch had represented this cause to him as peculiarly important, the papers should first be transmitted to all the judges respectively. Thus he gained time for me to hasten to Vienna, and counteract the malice of Zetto; for he was so generous, as to acquaint me with my danger.

A second time, then, I posted to Vienna, and found the proofs alleged by my attorney Weyrauch so clear, that my success could not fail. My unexpected presence staggered the traitor: I did all I could to accelerate the business: and now Zetto postponed his report for four months.

At

At length the decision took place.

It was decreed, that I was not indebted to the plaintiff, because he had not made his claim during my arrest, conformably to notice given.

Against this sentence, which, in due course of law, the judges should have pronounced at the first hearing of the plaintiffs demand, I protested in form: declaring, that I would not avail myself of this circumstance, but would pay the money, if it could be proved, that I ever received it: and expressly requiring a sentence on the points of forgery and injustice, since both were asserted in my rule for a new trial.

I went to the monarch, and informed him of the procedure. He

M 3 wished

wished me luck in an honourable victory. The great Theresa also wished me success, and asked me what was a fit punishment for the forger Buffy; as the whole of the charge properly lay against him, suspicion alone attaching to Zetto. I answered—that it belonged to the judges to determine; not to me.—Her majesty commended my moderation, and seemed to sympathize with me. That very day, however, my opponent found protection through the means of a valet de chambre, and obtained the following decree.

“The appeal of the attorney Buffy, and revival of his cause, are granted by his majesty, and, on account of his poverty, they shall be free of all taxes and cost of suit.”

Now the cause went on afresh. At a considerable expence, I was obliged

obliged again to return home without its being ended, and the matter continued pending fourteen months longer. I then came a third time to Vienna. Sentence was given. I gained my cause. The former sentence was annulled, and the stoppage of my pension was taken off, after it had been kept back for five years, without any one inquiring, whether or no I had wherewithal to give bread to my children. Buffy the attorney absconded, and fled from Vienna; and this suit for seven hundred florins *, which I gained, consumed for me in costs and travelling expences not less than four thousand guilders. †. Thus are lawsuits carried on in the capital of Austria.

* £.78. 17.
the same as a florin.

† £.450. A guilder is

Zetto was known, but not punished; and had my exertions been less indefatigable, or had I found myself less supported by honest people, I should certainly have lost both my money and my honour, in contending with two courts of justice, which I had incensed against me. The cause, however, made much noise at Vienna. All the judges, whom I had thus openly disgraced, became my bitter enemies; and their successors continue so to this day; as there still remain some of the former, whom I brought to dishonour, and they are ashamed of having so mistimedly held their tongues, and passed over a fraud so evident with their eyes open. I was styled a turbulent person, who had the hardiness to attack courts of justice in the lump, and Zetto retained his
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seat on the same bench for thirteen years after.

He sought revenge, however; and he found it. Through chicane he appointed me a trustee, and chose for the purpose the secretary Fillenbaum, his most faithful coadjutor in all such cases. In the end, this villain so plundered me, so illtreated me, that any one, who knew the whole, would wonder at my patience. I am known thank god, in all Europe: judge, then, what my feelings were, when a scoundrel, who deserved to be flogged at the cart's tail, and who actually died in the house of correction, had power to appoint a man like me a trustee, who was no better than himself; and to such an infamous proceeding the whole bench said amen.

Soon after the hail totally de-

M 5

stroyed

stroyed my crops twice. I could not discharge the imposts, as the lawsuit above mentioned had drained away all my cash, and I wanted six thousand florins to pay to the receiver.

Zetto and his consorts, Demfcher in particular, decreed, that I arbitrarily dissipated the fortunes of my children; and the court directed my estates to be put into sequestration. Zetto was on the point of being named to administer them, when I found means to make good the payment, at a loss of thirty per cent, and thus frustrated the villain's attempts to harass me with unceasing chicane, and at length drive me from the country.

How fearful are thy judgments, O God, in the courts of justice at Vienna! I was speaking in confidence with the worthy lieutenant,
field

fieldmarshal Faber, who knew the fellow well, and he said to me with a sigh :——my dear Trenck, I dare not speak. The emperor will have it so. Tell him, however, to ask me with what knaves I am obliged to sit in council, and he shall hear the downright truth.

A similar answer I received from the war-president, the honest field-marshal Haddick.

The vicepresident, general count Caramelli, was my friend. I asked him, how he could sit silent on the bench at such gross misconduct, and approve the most iniquitous judgment against me. He answered, that he always spoke against me, and never in my behalf, lest he should be suspected of being my friend. Thus spake an Italian, whose belly was his only God, yet presided in a court of justice.

Another such suit, in the same *judicio militari*, in which I was involved, I must here relate. It was known to every one in Vienna, yet no honest man had it in his power to mitigate it. I stated it, as it was publicly proved; and it could not be altered by the best of monarchs, the generous Leopold. As a stigma upon the administration of justice in Vienna, I will give it truly, according to the documents, and without reserve.

In the year 1787 I purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, in lower Austria, for the sum of forty seven thousand florins.

As my property had by a stretch of power been put into sequestration, to fetter me the more, and I was still under the jurisdiction of the *judicii militaris mixti*; Zetto managed matters so, that the colleague

league he had chosen, one like himself, received orders to conclude the bargain as curator. At the first dash, the seller received fifty one thousand florins; consequently four thousand more than I had agreed. This was shared amongst them, and I was forced to hold my tongue, otherwise the purchase, of which I was extremely desirous, would have been set aside. Beside this, I was obliged to remain at Vienna, at a great expence, on account of it; whilst Zetto and Fillenbaum assailed my purse for fees, and every report was to be paid for.

It is the custom of Austria, that, when a lordship is sold, a few thousand guilders of the purchase money shall be kept back, as security to indemnify the buyer, if within two years any thing mentioned in the bill

bill of sale should be found deficient. On this account three thousand florins were to be held as caution-money, in the purchase of Zwerbach.

Scarcely had I taken possession, when the steward found a kind of imposts entered in the tenantry book, the demand of which was prohibited by the sovereign. These amounted yearly to three hundred florins, equivalent to a capital of seven thousand five hundred, which the seller had to make good to me.

I dispatched the tenants themselves to the directory of the circle, to try the cause with me there, and refuse payment of these imposts. Sentence was given that they should not pay me them. I now went to Vienna, took the steward with me, and appeared in the *judicio militari mixto*, with my attorney Dorfner, pre-

preferring my suit, and demanding to be indemnified by the seller.

The first duty of the judge, according to the law, was to direct the seller to give me a bond of indemnification, and to carry on the suit with the tenants. We were suffered to withdraw, and Fillenbaum, as curator, received orders to draw up the case. He, through fear of having his conduct exposed by the seller, was afraid to act, and delayed the affair three years; on which account I was nonsuited, for having exceeded the term appointed by law, and brought my action too late. On this I hastened to Vienna; and appeared before the court where Zetto was spokesman; advanced, that I had made my claim in this case, in due form, during the first year of the purchase; and demanded a circular letter

letter to the regency, with an attestation; that I had neglected nothing, and consequently could not be non-suited. But, alas ! the judges looked at Zetto, who flatly denied the commission, and said, that I had never made my appearance on the business : the rest were silent, and I was dismissed.

My steward offered to make oath, that he actually on the day alluded to laid before them the particulars ; and that Gorgan, the defendant's council, opposed him, and me, and the attorney Dorfner, in full court, and even offered two thousand florins to compromise the affair. All this was fruitless. The judges permitted the files to be searched ; but Fillenbaum and Zetto, who had the management of them, had stolen the record, and the whole commission was denied.

I hast-

I hastened to my attorney Dorfner, who had been employed by me on the occasion, and desired him to attest it. To this demand he replied : dear baron Trenck, I have in my hands, it is true, proofs of this transaction ; but God preserve me from venturing to assert the truth, in contradiction to that revengeful court : I should make enemies of all its members, and lose every cause I might hereafter undertake, and every future curatorship. In this manner is the sacred temple of justice profaned at Vienna.

Thus I lost not only the three hundred florins yearly income from my tenants, for which I had paid seven thousand five hundred florins ; but was also obliged to pay the lady who sold the estate the three thousand florins caution money, with interest and costs of suit, amounting
to

to seven thousand florins ready money, and the decree was carried into execution without showing me the least favour : consequently the trust actually lost seven thousand five hundred florins, which the curator should have looked to, and for which he should have been answerable ; yet through the protection of the bench he escaped with impunity.

At length, however, Zetto was brought to punishment for other acts of injustice, and died in the house of correction, with the besom in his hand. Through him I shamefully lost at least fifteen thousand florins*, for twelve years I lay at his mercy, and all this would have been prevented, had the monarch inflicted on him due punishment, on occasion

* Near 1700*l*.

of the first lawsuit, in which he impleaded me for the forged bill of exchange. Instead of this, the court felt itself offended, and reviled me as a disturber of the public mind, who calumniated the sacred colleges of justice; and I must have sunk under reiterated persecution, had I remained longer in Austria. Notwithstanding the bench can at present boast men of honour, the odium brought on it by me adheres to it still; and a couple of its officers, who were once unfortunately silent, and left the direction of affairs to Zetto and Fillenbaum, have reason to wish me eternally dumb.

Last year the scandalous business was wound up by the final act. The seller pursued her demand of payment regularly to an execution. — On this occasion the court
dis-

displayed the highest possible degree of animosity towards me. Every one knew, that Zwerbach, sold as it was for fifty one thousand florins, cost me, including expences and entrance fees*, sixty thousand. It appeared, from the contract duly registered in the court, that my estate was mortgaged for eighty thousand florins; yet, on account of the three thousand florins caution-money, its sequestration was decreed; and, notwithstanding my protest, commissioners proceeded to it with two carriages and extra post-horses, living

* From the expression here used in the original, it would appear, that a man cannot enjoy an estate he purchases, without paying the sovereign of the district for leave; as with us an honest tradesman, or skilful artificer, cannot earn his living in a corporate town, without buying his freedom, T.

well at my cost for six days, and putting me to four hundred florins unnecessary expence, which my wife was obliged to pay down in ready money, with seven thousand two hundred florins to the seller, who had so maliciously pursued me at law. This, however, is termed justice at Vienna. Twenty times at least have I been exposed to similar proceedings; and there was no help, but I must submit. I speak boldly, I write freely, and I hesitate not to name some of the privileged perverters of justice: thus the many are exasperated, and during forty three years I have lived incessantly contending against the villainy of oppressive associations.

In the second and third volumes of this work, I have related truly, and without reserve, how and by what

what means I lost some millions, to which I had a just hereditary claim, in the kingdom of Hungary; how and by whom I was plundered in Vienna, three times betrayed, and sold by the imperial minister at Dantzic. The censors refused me permission to print them; but the emperor Joseph ordered, that whatever I could justify by documents and proofs should be published without restriction. This was done, yet not a single person demanded satisfaction of me: on the contrary, two gentlemen of the long robe thanked me, with the strongest assurance of their gratitude, for having spared them, and passed over their names in silence. Such are the sentiments, such the conduct, of the Vienna lawyers.

I am inclined to throw a veil over their shame; yet I must relate two
occur-

occurrences, that injured me severely.

At Aix-la Chapelle I had a suit with the post-master, who had defrauded me. He appealed to the aulic council. Count Gravenitz had the reporting of the case: he was feed, and wrote to the postmaster, that his cause was extremely suspicious, but he would delay his report, till I was weary of the affair.

In this court business is conducted in the following manner. On account of the immense number of causes, they are divided amongst the counsellors. Each of them takes his week for reporting in rotation, consequently it comes to his turn to report once in thirteen weeks, and then it generally depends upon himself which he will bring forward, and which he will let stand over.

Now if a man have an unjust cause,

cause, or be in possession of another's property, he has only to pay the person who is to make the report a certain sum annually, as long as he engages not to bring it before the court, or to make interest to get an assurance from him to keep it in hand as long as he lives.

This is the true reason why a cause may continue pending in this court for one or two centuries, without coming to a decision. The heirs of a man who got possession of another's estate have it in their power to pay better than those of him who was deprived of it: hence of justice there is little hope.

Gravenitz had in hand such an affair, which was notorious. He also entered into a contract, to sell subjects of the empire to Spain, and thus became a dealer in human flesh. On this account the emperor Joseph dismissed

dismissed him from his post. He then attempted to swindle count Theodore Bathiani, in Hungary; but was seized by him, and thrown into prison upon his estate. To Vienna he applied for assistance, as an aulic counsellor; by which means he obtained his deliverance, with the favour of advice to quit the country. Thus honourably he paid a visit to Mecklenburg. There he published a libel against the preceding volumes of this work, and attempted to justify himself. But the poor wretch is to be pitied: the shafts of his vengeance fell harmless. I mentioned him only because he had injured me to the amount of eleven thousand florins, of which he deprived my children probably for the paltry bribe of fifty ducats. If, however, there be any one who doubts what I have said of him, let

him write to Vienna, ask any attorney there, why count Gravenitz was dismissed from the aulic council, and he will learn the truth of my account.

His colleague, count von der Lipp, who, when Gravenitz had the turn to report, railed against me so basely, that I was obliged to reprimand him in court, has now followed him, and quitted the bench of justice, to the great satisfaction of many oppressed suitors. Thank God I still live, poorer indeed than I ought, but universally known and esteemed as a man of honour, and a martyr to the cause of truth.

Now let me give the last example of Vienna justice.

Four years ago, on my road to Paris, I accidentally became acquainted at Leipzig with one John James Semler, then a banker in that town.

town. His apparent openness deceived me, and won my confidence. Almost immediately on my arrival at Berlin, he sent me bills of exchange to the amount of twelve thousand livres*, payable in three months at Paris, which he begged me to accept, saying that he was much straitened for cash, and could discount these on the credit of my name; at the same time assuring me, that, on my passing through Leipzig, he would give me the money to take them up in Paris, when they should become due. Out of friendship to the man I accepted the bills. On my arrival at Leipzig, he had not the money: he could only give me two hundred dollars in specie, and his own draughts payable in three months at Augsburg, for two

thousand five hundred florins; but he declared, that he only negotiated as many of the bills with my acceptances as amounted to three thousand florins, and would deliver me the others on my return. I did not know what to do with his Augsbург bills, which were not even accepted; however, he told me, that any man in Straßburg would cash them on my credit, and thus I might take up mine in Paris. In consequence, I got these bills discounted by Messrs. Herman and Gebhardt, bankers at Frankfort, and Messrs. Franck and Dietrich at Straßburgh, making myself answerable for their payment, and losing the three months interest on them.

Almost immediately after my arrival in Paris, the bills that I had accepted for Semler at Berlin were presented for payment, and I discharged

charged them. These amounting to more than the money I had received from Semler, and his bills which I had negotiated, he still remained my debtor. The bills on Augsburg were duly honoured, except one for four hundred florins, which was protested, and sent back to Frankfort, and I was obliged to advance the money in Paris, with sixty florins charges, till Semler was able to repay me.

He now wrote to me again, in the most piteous manner, intreating me to accept for him bills for seven thousand livres, and afterwards for twelve thousand more, payable in two months at Paris, promising me in the most solemn manner, to remit the money before they became due. I suffered myself to be prevailed on, and complied with his requests.

The day of payment approached :

no money came. I took up the bills, however, and drew on him for two hundred louis-d'or, in favour of Mr. von Cetto. This draught being honoured, I was encouraged to go on accepting bills and paying them; till at last, my draught on him for two hundred louis-d'or, to Messrs. Sartorius and company, was returned protested, in a disgraceful manner, the reason assigned by him being, that he had no cash of mine in his hand. At the same time I received from him a letter, in which he complained of his necessities, and excused himself for suffering my bill to be protested, on the ground of his having no other mean to prevent his being arrested; according to the custom of Leipzig. This letter was accompanied with bills on Augsburg for three thousand florins, at three months,

months, to support him by my credit.

These bills no one would take. In Augsbuꝛg Semler had neither property nor credit; and from Leipſic I was cautioned againſt his being about to become a bankrupt. I was already three thouſand florins in advance, had not received the remittance which he had ſo ſolemnly promiſed, and was forced therefore to proteſt the laſt bills at Paris, and return them.

Quitting the metropolis of France, I repaired to Vienna, where I found Semler, who had now run away from Leipſic. He had the impudence to call on me, and to deny the favours he had received, for which I thrashed him out of doors, as I would any other knave. Buſineſs calling me into Hungary, he cur-

ried favour with my council, and took care to grease his fist.

In my absence they boldly got two strange saxon merchants to sue me for letters of exchange drawn by Semler, that I had accepted, but returned, and would have paid with Semler's bills.

My council treacherously avoided producing Semler's letters and original bills, and I, being nonsuited, was condemned to pay two thousand four hundred florins to public cheats. Immediately notice was given to my farmer, with stoppage of my rents : and Semler gave him three hundred florins, to say that he had already paid the money to him, that it might not be in my power to have recourse to justice a fresh, and any further investigation of the affair might be too late. The business was actually finish.

finished before I returned from Hungary ; when nobody listened to me, the cause was decided, and my money was lost without resource.

In this manner holders of bills in Austria proceed against a landed member of the states. I could not run away with my estates, of course there was no danger in delay : the sentence however was put into execution, I must pay, and my only remedy lay against a foreign vagabond, from whom I had nothing to hope.

I was not once permitted to inspect the bills for which I was sued, in order to recognise them ; of course they may possibly have been forged. I offered to deposit bills of Semler's for three thousand florins, to answer them, but they were not accepted.

Nay more. If a man, having a
N. 5 wife.

wife and eight children to maintain, actually become a bankrupt, only half or a third of his income is sequestered. From me, on the contrary, the whole was taken, notwithstanding my wife had two years before been put in legal possession of my estates by myself, and confirmed in it by the proper court. Such a proceeding surely proves, that I was pursued by rancour and injustice.

Through the dishonest actions I have related, I and my family were brought to experience want, whilst impostors, lawyers, and knaves were enriched, and there was no door open to redress. Were I now to prove, that I was never indebted to Semler a single groat, but that he had swindled me out of five thousand florins at least, the judges at Vienna most undoubtedly would
not

not repay me one farthing of that money, with which they suffered a vagabond to go off without giving the least security. To whom shall I now prefer my complaint? The money is gone out of the country. I am inclined to think that I merited from the courts of justice at Vienna so much regard at least, as to have had the money stopped, till Semler had paid the bills I had in my hands.

In the mean time the ungrateful rascal, whom with a true german heart I had assisted, laughed in his sleeve, and praised the speedy justice of Vienna to a saxon cheat, who knew how to manage affairs in its courts. But woe betide him, if ever he fall in my way; I will at least compel him to confess by what iniquitous means he defrauded me

of my money at Vienna, and who suffered themselves to be corrupted by him.

I will venture to declare, upon my honour, to the emperor, and to the whole world, that for six and twenty years I have not enjoyed a single penny of my pension, or of the income of my property: all has been swallowed up by lawsuits, chicane, and injustice. This certainly justifies me in declaring the truth to the whole world; and I have chosen an abode, where I can utter it without the least circumlocution. Forty years and upwards of my life I have sacrificed in Austria, and have maintained myself and family by the employment of my pen, by the exercise of my talents. Ingratitude has been my reward: contempt has been my revenge.

beloque

Assur-

Assuredly I was destined from eternity to be a stranger to quiet on earth; even the last scenes of my life, therefore, cannot be peaceful. From the track I have chosen I will not deviate to obtain it; and, proud of this noble and firm resolution, I dare brave all dangers, all persecutions.

When Joseph swayed the sceptre, my path was highly perilous, and the part I performed required a master. Suffice it, that for him I laboured much, I did much: for me he did nothing: he promised great things, indeed, but he kept not his promises. No reason have I to lament his death. Leopold ascended the throne, and a new era of my history followed. Never were my prospects so favourable, so brilliant; never was I engaged in more arduous enterprizes, and
exposed

exposed to greater dangers; never more grievous to me was the termination of events, than in this

NEW SCENE.

Scarcely was the brow of Leopold encircled by the roman diadem, when I hastened to his presence. At my first audience of him he took me by the hand and said:

My dear Trenck, I am happy to find you still alive. Your history has affected me much; and it is a disgrace to Vienna, that it was made public.—I said, what at such a favourable opportunity a man of my stamp would say. Never had I heard such openhearted expressions, such tokens of noble sentiments, issue from the mouth of a monarch,
—My

—My whole soul was roused from that hatred of princes, which it had embraced not without sufficient motives : my love, my confidence for Leopold swelled to enthusiasm : flattering hopes of justice arose : and I resolved, to spend my last days in his service.

Two or three times a week at least I went to him, without ever being sent away ; found myself treated with confidence and esteem ; was consulted on the most important subjects ; and received so many commissions for various employments of my pen, that I often wrote for him all night, and carried him the next day what he did not expect to have been finished in a week. My zeal in his service pleased, and he promised me all that an honest, injured man, hitherto kept unemployed, could expect from a
just

just, sagacious, and benevolent monarch.

All the leeches of the state, and bloodsuckers of the people, the swarms of juridical and court drones, who are accustomed to oppress the labouring bees, were alarmed, foreboding no good to themselves, when such an one as I found free access to a good prince. Caballing now began, since Trenck was so frequently seen at court. The spies of foreign powers, too, who wished no dawn of reason to illumine the horizon of Vienna, were attentive. The convention of Reichenbach followed, and, as I shall relate more fully below, certain people of Berlin availed themselves of the opportunity, to depict me to the worthiest of peaceful kings in colours far different from the true.

From

From that period all united to watch my steps, and lay pitfalls in my way.

In a conversation with the emperor, on the situation of his dominions at that time, when a general fermentation had taken place, he said to me :—Trenck, I know you have many friends in Hungary, and are acquainted with all the malcontents, as you have yourself reason to be discontented : what if you were to go to Buda, at the approaching assembly of the diet, as a private person, employ your pen, and exert your talents for me ?

To do this I was ready with pleasure ; but requested permission, to lay all my manuscripts before his majesty, for his opinion, before they were published ; as I am accustomed to utter the plain truth, and had sufficient reason to expect, that enough
would

would be ready to ascribe to me intentions which I did not entertain. This was granted me with the most generous assurances of protection.

The first piece I published was, *Trenck's first Letter to all honest Hungarians.*

It is too long to insert here, and I shall reprint it in my monthly publication. I may observe, however, that it produced an astonishing effect at the diet, and is the more remarkable for having the approbation of a monarch, though written against despotism.

I carried the manuscript to the emperor. In a few days he returned it to me, and said:—thus should all honest men write. Make haste to Buda, and get it printed as fast as possible. This is just the proper time for it.

I asked—has your majesty affixed
an

an *imprimatur* to it?—He hesitated, and answered—the press licence is now so free, that surely no objection can be made to such a patriotic paper.—Certainly: was my reply. But the inspector gives all my writings to the council of state, this will be communicated to the hungarian chancellery, and neither will permit me to interfere in a business of such importance.—The emperor then ordered me to give the manuscript myself to baron von Switen, president of the inspectors, and tell him, that I was sent by his majesty.—This I did.—I waited a fortnight for the determination—Nothing was done.—This singular conduct I mentioned to the emperor.—He told me to wait with patience.—On the twenty third day my manuscript was returned, with a *non admittitur*. “Not permitted.” One whole page had been

been filled with remarks and interlineations, which were carefully erased: a proof that I had not been mistaken. This occurrence taught me too, that I had a powerful enemy in the council of state, who would endeavour to ruin all my credit with the emperor.

He was astonished when I pointed out and explained to him the tortuous conduct I had experienced; and asked me whether I could not print it without the license. How welcome to me was this question from my sovereign! I joyfully answered, Yes; after which I had a long and serious conference with him. That very day I departed for Buda, gave my manuscript to the printer, and the fourth day after my arrival the letter was in every bookseller's shop. Its style was forcible, and I was universally commended.

mended. I was overwhelmed with praise. My conversation did not bely my letter: in it I maintained the same principles, backing them by the most powerful arguments. The bishops now first began to take the field against me. In the diet they had made the grand motions: *Hungary has no need of a king of the house of Austria—Jose b never fulfilled his duties as king of Hungary.* He never permitted himself to be crowned; he trod under foot the fundamental laws of the realm; and consequently broke through his engagements. He should therefore be struck out of the list of kings. His conduct has annulled the compact and right of succession: of course Leopold has no hereditary claim to the crown, and the right of a free election again reverts to the people. On this all exclaimed: we will have
a

a priestly government, as in the times of Moses and St. Stephen: they who were of the same party as I smiled, but were in the end triumphant.

The bishop of Erlan, the most dangerous man in the kingdom, who, with a wicked fanatical heart, possessed an income of three hundred thousand florins a year*, and had brought with him in his private coffer a hundred thousand ducats for the purposes of bribery and corruption, was the soul of this plot. He had before published a book, in which it was maintained, that Hungary would never prosper under the house of Austria.

He, the cardinal, and other bishops like himself, had dispersed gratis throughout the country several

* £3370,

thousand

thousand copies of this work ; and the magistrates of the city actually licensed it, and permitted its sale.

In this posture of affairs I arrived at Buda, and effected wonders. Within a fortnight I had brought the whole system of the priesthood completely to the ground.

Taught by the arguments I laid before them, the magnates, who were justly dissatisfied with the ordinances of Joseph, altered their opinions, and assumed confidence in Leopold, whom I described to them as a gentle, noble-minded prince, far from despotic, and a friend to the national liberties of Hungary. This was particularly strengthened, by my affirming on my honour, that the emperor had read in manuscript, and approved, my *Letter*, and *the Priest unmasked*, in which it was maintained, that the freedom of the Hun-

Hungarians should not be violated by the exertion of arbitrary power.

I now brought forward a pamphlet, which exasperated the swarm of priests so highly, that I had the whole hive about my ears; and assuredly I should have completed its destruction, had the emperor left my hands at full liberty. It is too remarkable not to deserve a place here; I shall subjoin it therefore at the end of the volume*.

This was followed by a supple-

* As this bitter philippic against the priesthood, entitled, "The Balance of Power between the Prince and the Clergy," is particularly applicable to ecclesiastics of the church of Rome, and their conduct in Hungary; whilst no part of it could apply to the members of our established church, all of whom to a man are sworn foes to intolerance, and zealous promoters of peace, and quiet, and brotherly love; we presume our readers will pardon us for not translating it. T.

ment, too long to be inserted here. Both these I translated into Latin, and a friend of mine into the Hungarian language: thus twelve thousand copies were put into the hands of the people, and met with general approbation. To follow up the stroke, and not suffer the impression I had made to wear out, I immediately printed

The Priests unmasked, which I distributed publicly, and sent to all the booksellers for sale; steps which it was in no one's power to prevent. The monks vomited their gall and venom against me, but in vain; the deadly blow was given, and they, who had hitherto been worshipped as demi-gods throughout Hungary, and had led the voice of the diet according to their pleasure, beheld their power annihilated, and themselves despised.

The protestants began to lift up their heads, spoke boldly, and found no opposition. For myself I had poniard or poison to fear every moment, yet boldly braved every peril. Several anonymous letters I received, warning me not to accept invitations to the tables of such and such magnates, from whom there was reason to apprehend attempts on my life. I went, however, undaunted; but took care to be on my guard. No one had courage to execute such a deed, as I had so many partizans, that it must have been followed by a fearful vengeance.

At the table of count C***, indeed, the attempt was actually made; but frustrated by the caution of my trusty and well-informed servant, to whom at the side-board they would positively fill out of a particular bottle of wine.

On

On the bridge of boats too, where I purposely walked every evening, to show that I feared nothing, assassins were planted, to throw me into the Danube. Had it been done, a report would have been spread, that I had flung myself in from contrition or despair. But they were afraid to attack me. Indeed I was always well armed, and took care to have friends at hand.

One count Amadé, a fanatic, who was in the pay of the bishop of Erlau, took the liberty to cavil with me.—I met with him in respectable company, otherwise he should have felt that cudgel, with which I was always prepared for him and his consorts, as swords and pistols are unknown to such gentlemen in Hungary. He was very quiet, however, and no one ventured openly to insult me.

At length the matter was wrought to such a pitch, that the pandours came to me, and offered me their assistance, if I wished to throw all the bishops in the diet out of the window. I preached peace, patience, and quietness, and hastened post to Vienna, to receive further orders from the monarch.

Immediately on my arrival I had a private audience, and the first words were:—

“Trenck, there are complaints of you already made to me, but I am not irritated against you. You go too violently to work; you throw your stick at the birds. You are in extreme danger.—It is positively required, that I should recall you from Hungary, and I cannot publicly afford you protection. You are not ignorant of clerical vengeance.”

I asked

I asked him:—Is your majesty displeased with my writings or conduct in Hungary?—No: was the answer. On the contrary, I am indebted to you for them, but I dare not protect you.—If so, I fear nothing, replied I, and I will cheerfully return.—Only be more moderate, be more cautious: were his last words.

Again I hastened to Buda, and wrote in all thirteen pamphlets, during the sitting of the diet. The monks applied to the supreme military court, in which they found a way to make friends. The general commandant Barco, who had formerly served as captain with me in the regiment of cordova cuirassiers, sent for me and said, that he had received commands from the above-mentioned court, to advise me as a friend, not to write any more in

Hungary. My answer was literally : an honourable counsellor of the military court knows, that the uniform of a soldier does not write. In Hungary I write as a citizen, as a philosopher, as Trenck ; who has in view the recovery of some millions of property for his children ; and in this character I acknowledge no superior, except God, the privileges of Hungary, and my duty.

This answer was satisfactory. I Now breathing revenge and fury the clergy applied to the artful cardinal Migazzi at Vienna. He procured, from the inspectors of the press, the condemnation of my writings respecting the affairs of Hungary to be confiscated and burnt ; and he had the madness to prescribe laws to the hungarian nation, without knowing the privileges of the diet.

The

The matter was at present so managed, that the town-council took the inconsiderate step of permitting the publication of a rescript, under the name of the emperor, to the general commandant, enjoining, that I should be ordered to cease writing, and suppress, or deliver to him, all the remaining copies of my pamphlets.

To this I answered in print, that I alone knew why I published the truth in Hungary. It was false, that the emperor had issued, or could issue, such an injunction. That no man had a right to forbid the protestants to undertake their defence at the diet; and I would boldly engage their enemies at their head.

That the town-council and press-licensing office of Buda had permitted the printing of two infamous books against the monarch, which

maintained, that Hungary would never flourish under the government of an austrian prince. Of these books, which I named, the bishops had spread abroad several thousand copies, to excite a revolt against the emperor.

To this I added, that I would never submit my writings to a magistracy that allowed such publications, or to inspectors of the press who licensed and promoted their sale; and despised their commands. However, as through the power they had in their hands they had disgraced the laws of the diet of Hungary, and had forbidden their booksellers and townsmen to vend works bearing the name of Trenck, I gave notice, that thenceforward they should be publicly distributed and sold at my house by my servants.

This was actually done, and persevered

(297)
severed in to the end of the diet,
without any molestation, as my re-
sources were dreaded.

At length, on the 17th of novem-
ber, 1790, the coronation took place
at Presburg. I was present, and all
Hungary saw me admitted to a pri-
vate audience of the sovereign, the
day before the coronation. It was
evident, therefore, that neither my
writings nor my conduct had brought
me into disgrace. I wrote on this
occasion a coronation ode, in which
I expressed the ardour of my feel-
ings, and the happy prospects I
formed for Hungary from the go-
vernment of Leopold.

On the day of the coronation,
cardinal count Bathiány gave a grand
entertainment, with fireworks, and a
ball, in all imaginable splendour.
The whole court was present. I was
rash enough to be there, and, with

some respectable friends, to distribute to all the bishops and magnates, in presence of the monarch, a prayer I had composed on the principals of the episcopal oath*. The cardinal himself received a copy. A bolder step is not easy to be conceived. I did not quit the company till it broke up. The gang of monks viewed me with a fanatic scowl; the majority gave me smiles of approbation; and the monarch himself spoke a few words to me in a friendly manner. This enraged them the more.

Thus crowned with fame and ho-

* The catholic bishops of Hungary take a peculiar oath, to which if they be true, they must at all times be ready to sacrifice their king, their country, and the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, to the arbitrary dictates of a foreign potentate; and to trample on the laws at the will of the pope.

nour did I arrive at the termination of this remarkable diet, at which the reprobated claims of the worthy king Leopold were triumphant, and the protestants obtained privileges which they could never have expected in Hungary. I ventured to break the ice. My reputation of having laboured for the general weal alone will never be destroyed in Hungary: but whilst the interest of the ecclesiastics accords with the overweening spirit of the nobility, who want neither power nor inclination to treat all other classes of men as slaves, they will most assuredly remain my implacable enemies, as I first lighted the torch that displayed to the whole kingdom their designs, to which the sovereign opposes every possible obstacle.

At this diet I might unquestionably have obtained the restoration

of the large estates I had lost in Hungary, producing an annual income of two hundred and seventy thousand florins*, would I have joined the party of the nobles and priests, written in their behalf, and exerted myself against the king and the protestants. But I was firm in the cause of Leopold and the public, regarded not my own private interest, and abode true to my character of preferring the dictates of rectitude to every other consideration. The subsequent part of this narrative will show, that I went unrewarded, and lost by my probity all I might have gained by a different conduct. The emperor himself was so circumstanced, that he could not openly protect me, and death took him off before he could effec-

* 439375.

uate his promises. Thus does fate sport with those who rely on man, and seek fortune through virtue and the fulfilment of the social duties. My lot is that of all reformers, and in the grave I shall be deaf to the grateful thanks and blessings of posterity.

I now left Hungary, and returned to Vienna, where I employed myself in various other writings for the emperor, possessed his confidence, and was promised by him, that, at the next diet and the distribution of the royal revenue in the Bannat, I should be repaid all that the treasury had actually received in ready money from the sale of the Trenck estates. The sum indeed would not have amounted to two hundred thousand florins: but with it I should readily have been satisfied and had sufficient reason to consider

sider myself secure of receiving this at least.

As to what farther concerned the possession of my sclavonian estates, I was free to commence a suit with the holders of them, and carry it on according to the laws of the country.

More than this permission I never desired from the court, which had already annulled the arbitrary decree of Theresa, so injurious to me and my children, and the disgraceful act of her chancellor of the exchequer.

I now quietly awaited a better fate, and my reward from a just emperor, who was thoroughly acquainted with me, and I with my sentiments, and had received proofs of my capability of serving him, though my locks were silvered with age.

For a time I remained at peace in the midst of my family at Zwerbach,

though

though I too plainly perceived, that the fanatics in the courts at Vienna ceased not to persecute me as a heretic, and watched every occasion to hunt me to the death, or to banish me from court, that I might not have it in my power to disclose to the monarch their iniquitous proceedings. Neither was attention wanting in the council of state, where, as in all courts of justice, self-interest is ever on the watch against men, who see things as they are, and speak of them before the throne with freedom. They knew, too, the weak side of Leopold, and let slip no favourable opportunity.

In June 1791 I went to Buda, to settle with the booksellers, and to purchase some wine. I remained there only ten days, during which I took up my abode on the castle-hill, at the house of the keeper of
the

the archives, von Kowarczitsch, a learned antiquarian, esteemed for his probity by the whole nation. Immediately the hatred of the monks attacked this blameless man; enemies were stirred up against him; and a report was propagated, that I had prevailed on him, to search the archives for the family writings of Trenck. Had this been done, it would have been no more than justice: but, to the disgrace of the law of the exchequer in Hungary, I must here make known, that the keeper of the archives is sworn to keep secret all documents relative to family rights, and capable of being detrimental to the treasury. They can only be searched by order of a judge of the court, and the report can be delivered only to him. In the way of all private individuals who make this equitable demand

every

every obstacle is to be thrown, and the keeper must deny every thing he can. It is to be observed, too, in my case, that the chancellor of the exchequer, count Graffalkowitz, who was omnipotent in the time of Theresa, and who deprived me of all my estates in contempt of the fundamental laws of Hungary, withdrew from the archives every thing that could injure his heirs and friends, or betray his villainies, whereby he had reduced many families to poverty.

The true history of the business was as follows. I learnt there, not from Kowarckzitsch God knows, but from a friend in the town council, that the emperor had sent a private order, to search the archives for all papers relative to the Trenck estates, and remit them into his own hands. This proves his good intention

tention, for he had promised to repay me what the treasury had received from the sale of them, as he would not suffer it to be contaminated with illgotten gold. Unquestionably the present possessor of my property got scent of this, and employed every possible artifice, to prevent his ejection, as he must imagine, that the emperor would never confirm proceedings contrary to the laws of Hungary.

Thus, ignorant of the source of my intelligence, they suspected the worthy keeper of the archives, who kept in the profoundest secrecy from me the emperor's commands. The bishops reported besides, that I had made him a convert to the detestable doctrines of Luther.

How the affair terminated I have never been able to discover. Thus much, however, I know, the emperor

peror actually received the documents; they were by him delivered to be examined, and reported, to the hungarian chancery at Vienna; which purposely gave the commission to the vicepresident count Maillat. The count is the stepfather of baron Schandor, the very person that has in possession two of my chief lordships, avital estates, of which I could never have been deprived according to law, and producing him a yearly income of seventy thousand florins*. The report he made may easily be conjectured, since nothing arose from it to my benefit. What follows evidently indicates the trick played on the occasion.

An unmarried brother of Schandor, and possessor of half these estates, had been eighteen years in the gaol of Rautstein, where he was con-

demned

demned to perpetual imprisonment, for having first ravished and afterwards poisoned two sisters, and committed other murders. If he died in prison, his possessions, he having no children, would escheat to the crown. By the laws of Hungary, I, as original owner, should have had a prior claim. As soon as the emperor demanded the Trenck papers from the archives, his powerful relations foresaw the consequences, and procured a pardon for the murderer. Immediately on this he married, and obtained the protection of the nobles; consequently my expectation was frustrated. This is the course of affairs on our earth, which is, notwithstanding, the best of all possible worlds.

Having finished my business, I returned with speed to Vienna. Here

Here, however, I must introduce a circumstance connected with what follows, and a specimen of priestly malice.

At Buda I dined with general von Barco, then commandant at that place, and who had been formerly my comrade as captain of horse in the regiment of Cordova. He is well known to be a selfish man, and a friend of the bishop of Erlau, who spares no money to attain the accomplishment of his fanatical purposes. After dinner he gave me an invitation for the next day. I excused myself, however, as I was obliged to go to Fued to receive some money from a Mr. von Mariafy, who was using the waters there for his health. Returning home, however, I met Mr. von Mariafy, on his way to Pest; and of course my journey to Fued did not take place.

Three

Three days after I called on the general. He said to me:—what are you returned already?—I answered; I have not been, as I found my friend here.—Barco appeared surprised, and disturbed. I observed it, but knew not the reason. This I afterwards learnt.

Mariafy was a thorn in the bishop's side, and at this very time there was a meeting of several powerful nobles at the baths of Fuered, who, as I was afterwards informed, entered into a design to diminish the immense incomes of the bishops; with which they actually concerted the strengthening the hands of the monarch to relieve the oppressed citizens and peasants, and reduce the power of the nobility.

This step failed not to set in motion the omnipotent priesthood.

Barco

Barco was vigilant for them, and artfully conveyed information to the emperor, that the purposes of this meeting were inimical to his interests; at the same time mentioning me as a party concerned, whilst he supposed me to be there.

In the mean time I pursued my journey to Vienna, and thence to Zwerbach; but in the beginning of september received a summons from count Tige, acting president of the military court, to appear before it in person. Scarcely had I entered, when he ordered me in a dry authoritative style, to sign the following ridiculous bond, by the express command of the emperor.

Bond, literally copied.

“Whereas the annual pension I have enjoyed from your majesty’s favour has been insufficient to supply the wants of my numerous family,

mily, and I have hitherto been under the necessity of augmenting my income by the employment of my pen: and whereas your majesty is now most graciously pleased to augment my pension to the sum of fifteen hundred florins a year*, and to promise a pension to my wife, if she should survive me: in acknowledgment of this great indulgence shown to me and my family, as well as in conformity to the internal consciousness, that my former mode of gaining a livelihood by my pen is degrading *first to the character of an officer conferred by your most gracious favour, secondly to that of a man of probity,* I do voluntarily bind myself, after mature deliberation, by my word as an officer, and under forfeiture

* £168. 15s.

of my honour, fully and wholly to renounce every branch of authorship, particularly whatever relates to public affairs, either in this country or any other, by no means to carry it on by myself or others, or to give any instructions in this respect to other persons, and faithfully to deliver up to his excellency count von Tige, general of cavalry, all essays, memorandums, or papers, now in my hands, that have the remotest reference thereto; to remain as long as I live in the dominions of his imperial majesty; to conduct myself peaceably; and to take care that my family do the same, and that in such a manner I, and in case of my decease my surviving spouse, render ourselves, according to the utmost of our power, worthy and deserving of that most gracious favour which we may hope for.

In confirmation of these presents, I have subscribed my name to this instrument, and sealed it with my seal, in the presence of his excellency count Tige, general of cavalry, with free assent, and of *my own voluntary choice*. Vienna, the 11th. of august, 1791.

(L. S.) Frederic baron von der Trenck."

The reader may guess what answer I made the general, standing on the seat of judgement before me; after I had read this base instrument.

I was threatened, however, with the castle, if I made the least hesitation.——I took up the pen, therefore, and wrote my name; at the same time declaring, that I would demand my dismissal, as I would not sacrifice my honour, my liberty, and my love of letters, for any treasure

sure upon earth, much less for a pension, which I here most freely renounced. Appealing to the emperor, I departed as a man grossly injured, and the next day went to court.

I must here anticipate a little my story to relate the substance of what I said at large to the council of war in a decisive tone, and the true Trenck style, when I demanded back my bond, into which I had been forced to enter against my will. It was nearly as follows —

I never can or will believe, that the degrading expressions and the requisition contained in that instrument could accord with the commands of a monarch, who is the tutelary deity of science, who read and approved in manuscript before it was printed what I wrote on the affairs of Hungary, and for whom

I had freely encountered a thousand perils.—Can it possibly be unbecoming a soldier, to rank in the learned world as I have done? My pen has procured me approbation and celebrity throughout Europe, an honour that I would not exchange for the title of a fieldmarshal. What I have gained by my own talents will remain eternally mine: titles are seldom the rewards of merit, or good conduct. None then but an enemy to truth, virtue and science, none but some ignorant member of the military court, could have drawn up such a scandalous and injurious instrument. The style and orthography sufficiently denote the author. I was convinced, that my enemies had constructed it as a pitfall for me, as the event completely proved: for on my visiting Hungary, ten days

days after I had signed it, I was immediately arrested, on pretext of having broken it, though in it is expressly said, that I would not travel out of the emperor's hereditary dominions without permission.—

Thus the disgrace must fall only on my enemies.—I demanded the bond; for to keep it was totally against my will, and out of the austrian territories I could frequently get more in one week by my pen, than the whole yearly amount of my pension. My zeal, too, for serving the house of Austria was cooled by having laboured three and forty years in vain, still hoping reward that I never received. That the future would be as the past I had reason to conclude, since my enemies at Vienna were too powerful to admit other expectations; and my own maintenance, and my du-

ties as a parent demanded from me a manly resolve. I would repair therefore to the monarch, to obtain an explanation of this proceeding for which I could not account, or to solicit my discharge, as I wished now to seek quiet in my old age, and withdraw myself altogether from the lists. But alas! all remained unanswered.

I went immediately to the emperor, and found him in a serious mood. His paternal heart was affected at my tale; for I spoke as an injured man in my situation had a right to speak. He was particularly astonished, when I recited to him the disgraceful contents of the instrument; still more when he heard the threats of general Tige, by which I was compelled to sign it; and assured me, that he had never ordered such a procedure, or such expressions.

On

On my now reminding him of his promise; on my exposing to him, that I had done nothing without his consent, and had written for his interests alone, to the sacrifice of my own; and adding, that the bond I was constrained to enter into frustrated all my purposes, and announced to me his majesty's displeasure and contempt; with a mild look he answered me in the following remarkable terms.

Yes, my dear Trenck, all that you did and wrote last year in Hungary is commendable, merits reward, and I will not forget it: I told you, however, that you should not make me a party in the affair, for I could not protect you, and you must extricate yourself from the snare. But as in your last journey in july you acted a part very different from the former; as the grand rendezvous

with my bitterest enemies at Fuered, where you were the active person, is well known to me; as this meeting, so dangerous to me and my people, came to my knowledge through such persons, nay through the town council and the general commandant; I have already dismissed one Lany and one Kowaczitsch from their places, and commanded them to write no more in Hungary.

How was I surpris'd at this information! Never in my whole life had I been at Fuered; my conscience was clear; I saw instantly, that it was a stroke of monkish rancour, which by means of bribery, artifice, or fanaticism had incited general Barco to this false denunciation.

I answered, therefore, in a firm tone:—Sire, you are deceived:
my

my actions speak for me: I never was at Fuered: the information is a trick of the clergy, to render me suspected. If a single individual be justly cashiered through my means, let me die by the hands of the hangman, as a rebel and a traitor. Your majesty is just: to its justice I appeal, and demand neither favour nor clemency.

The humane and magnanimous monarch was wholly disconcerted. He was certainly convinced of the goodness of my cause, yet durst not form a resolution accordingly; my accusers were too powerful. His answer, therefore, was:

Make yourself easy, Trenck: I am not irritated against you: I know that you are an honest man: but my ears are continually assailed on your account; you have too highly offended the clergy, and I have

told you, that I dare not openly be your protector. The day after tomorrow I must go to Prague, on account of the coronation: take care of yourself, that no malicious trick be played you in my absence, and remain quiet on your estate till my return.

The conversation continued a long time; I said a great deal; and the emperor appeared to me to be wavering, and to have his head stuffed with false informations.

Scarcely had I quitted him, when I took post, and proceeded to Buda, to obtain on the spot more accurate information of the machinations of my enemies, intending thence to follow him to Prague, and openly demand satisfaction.

My arrival at Buda excited great attention. Immediately I called on von Lany, the secretary to the town-coun-

council, and asked him if he had been cashiered. He answered me, Yes.

As he had learnt, however, that he was dismissed by the emperor's command, for having been concerned in the meeting at Fuered, he attempted his exculpation, which he perfectly accomplished; for he had never been at Fuered, any more than I; and his false accuser ———

could prove nothing, but was forced to confess that he had been deceived; so his superiors found that he had been innocently calumniated, reported his case, prevented his dismissal, and obtained orders to indemnify him by conferring on him a better place the first opportunity.

A similar answer I received from the other worthy man. Thus it appears the best of monarchs had been too precipitate, had too hastily cre-

dicted the information of his courtiers, and, contrary to his inclination and resolutions, had signed an arbitrary sentence, which on nearer examination he was forced to repeal.

I now boldly endeavoured to investigate the complot, and soon traced it to its sources.

At Fued there actually was a meeting of some noble-minded magnates. They had concerted together, to renounce, at the next diet, some of their ancient barbarous privileges; and to impart to the king more power to emancipate the citizens and peasants from their slavish chains, and promote the industry of the people. On the other hand, it was their purpose to diminish the immense incomes and power of the bishops, restrain their unbounded covetousness and ambition, and employ the surplus of their revenue to
the

the general good of the oppressed state, in encouraging industry, instructing the large body of the almost savage people, and invigorating manufactures and commerce.

These schemes the monks discovered. Well acquainted with all my writings, the aim and purpose of which were the same, they doubted not a single moment my being at the bottom of the Fured meeting. General Barco, a man whose character is well known throughout Hungary, was pitched on by them, as the general commandant, to deceive the monarch, and represent the assembly as framing a very dangerous plot against him, whilst on the contrary it had his and its country's good solely in view.

A monk of the name of Gabelhofer, with the most artful malice, culled passages from my Macedonian

Hero,

Hero, to prove, that six-and-twenty years before I had entertained designs against monarchs in general, and endeavoured to render them objects of distrust to the people. To these he added extracts from a book, in which I had spoken of the origin of the French revolution in a way to deter all people from copying it, that, taken by themselves, appeared to convey a meaning totally different from what they bore when considered with the context. The devil himself could not have acted with more malevolence. His conclusion from these was, that I sought to stir up the people against the nobility and clergy; and that, as my writings and conduct in Hungary had procured me a great many partisans, particularly amongst the protestants, his majesty would do well, to forbid my writing more, as being a dangerous

gerous man in that country; to prevent my visiting it again; and to cause me to be watched narrowly, or to secure my person.

The prudent monarch knew my heart, it is true; and my sentiments towards him; and had read, and secretly approved all my writings: yet he found himself necessitated to acquiesce in the information given by the town-council, the powerful clergy, and a general commandant. Thus he was induced to issue a command to the military court to lay before me the abovementioned bond, as a mean of satisfying my enemies. In this court a wicked fanatic presided. He drew up the instrument in his own execrable style, which no one can mistake, and demanded of me much more than his orders expressed. Perhaps the bishop's gold, or his promise of some considerable
abso-

absolution, contributed not a little to this.

In the course of two days I had unravelled the whole intrigue by which the emperor had been imposed upon, and instantly resolved to proceed to Prague, to disclose it to him. On my return to my inn, the sign of the eagle, at eleven in the evening, the waiter told me, that the commandant field-marshal prince Coburg had sent to desire me to be with him at ten the next morning. At the same time I found a letter from a friend at Vienna, one of the judges of the military court, acquainting me, that the court had issued an order to the general commanding at Buda to put me under arrest, and send me to Vienna, as I had gone to Hungary without permission, contrary to the obligation I had signed.

I was

I was not ignorant of the power and mode of proceeding of this court, in which one enemy is sufficient to ruin the greatest general. Instances enough are notorious. Counsellor Weber sentenced prince Eugene to death, for beating the Turks without his orders: and my uncle Trenck, the well-known chief of the pandours, who had done such signal services to the state, died unprotected at the Spielberg, as a justly condemned malefactor, because he had secret enemies in the military court, as I have incontestibly proved in a former volume of my history.

The same fate had I to apprehend, if I fell into the hands of these gentry. To shun the danger, therefore, I resolved not to go to prince Coburg in the morning, and set off early for Waitzen, four miles distant from Buda, where I waited at a retired

retired inn for my money, in order to proceed to the emperor, to frustrate all their attempts.

There, however, I was arrested the next day, conducted back to Buda, where as a delinquent I was watched all night at the guard house with the most laughable parade, and in the morning I was sent with extra-post-horses to Vienna, under the care of a captain of the garrison, Mr. von Cinnique, who had orders not to let me speak or write to any person.

It is remarkable, that I must have been condemned as an atrocious malefactor, for, though I ranked in the line as a major of the imperial forces, I was delivered into the charge of a corporal of the police, which, according to the rules of the service, could only be done where the delinquent has already been condemned

demned in due form either to death or to the house of correction. As for this ignominious treatment I have hitherto received no satisfaction, I am justified in thus publicly branding with the epithet of scoundrel him who issued such an order; and could I find him out I would apply to him no other title, even were he to strut before me with a field-marshal's staff.

The next morning I was conveyed into the town, and kept under arrest in my own house. The grenadier lieutenants were changed daily, remained in my apartment, and were ordered not to permit me to write to any one, and not even to suffer my wife and children to be admitted to me; cruelty that could be exercised only in states where despotism prevails in the extreme.

I a-

I awaited the emperor's return from Bohemia with a mind free from reproach, and assured of victory: but on the nineteenth day of my arrest, and three days before his arrival at Vienna, the town-major came to me, and brought me my sword, with the following rescript from the military court.

“As a misunderstanding has prevailed throughout the whole affair, major baron Trenck is hereby set at liberty from his arrest, which he brought upon himself, by not waiting on the general commandant according to the rules of the service, and changing his abode at Buda three times. The writings taken from him in consequence of this mistake are also hereby directed to be restored”. —

It is observable on this occasion, that, whilst I was in Hungary, my
apart-

apartment was forcibly broken open, and all my papers seized. Consequently I must have been accused of treason, otherwise this could not have been done: yet no one had examined me, no one had told me the cause of my arrest.

Does not such a proceeding blur the reign of a monarch, who so solemnly declared, that no arbitrary act should be exercised in his dominions whilst he wielded the sceptre, yet a general, a counsellor, to the eternal disgrace of the laws, could thus trample on the rights of the people with impunity.

Nay more—three and forty years I had served the state with honour, and merited reward and esteem: I had unquestionably served it with more zeal, and more efficacy, than any of those who illtreated me: I had been a staff-officer

thirty years: I possessed landed estates and lordships in Austria, had a wife and eight children there, and my eldest son at twenty three years of age was a captain: every one knew, that I would not be either general or minister, that the emperor honoured me with his confidence, and that I had performed a very important part for him in Hungary: yet monkish rancour found means to engage prince Coburg, well known for his humane disposition, to suffer himself through mere imbecility, a fault of nature, not the heart, not only to put a man like me under arrest, but to send to the military court an information now notoriously known to be false.

This information was, that I had three times changed my habitation in Buda, and on this account he deemed me a suspicious person.

As

As this assertion is positively untrue, and as all the consequences that so grossly injured me arose from this false information; as in the austrian dominions, particularly in Hungary, where I had done, suffered, and lost so much, and been lately engaged in such important concerns, no one surely could reckon me in the number of those vagabonds, over whom it behoves the police to keep a watchful eye; it is incontestibly clear, that the adjutant, or reporting general commandant, was by the monks deceived into playing me such a trick, or the false reporter took a very inconsiderate step, and acted not like an honest man. The former is probable: yet the latter is suspicious, as no answer was given to my earnest application for investigating the business, and transmitting

mitting the judicial information to the supreme court.

Possibly a man so important as military chief was ashamed of being convicted of an error in a circumstance clear as noon day, and wished to maintain his own reputation for infallibility with a court accustomed to act arbitrarily. I, however, am justified, in defence of my own honour, to give the appellation of calumniators to him or them, by whom the false information was given. It is known that I remained at Buda but two days, during which I lodged at the Eagle; and on the third I left that house: but surely, had I quitted that inn for another, or gone to reside with a friend, such a circumstance could not have rendered suspicious a man like me, a man of my public character.

In any case, to prince Coburg
alone

alone are imputable all the consequences occasioned by his precipitate information; and I hereby challenge him to the open proof of it, contented to forfeit both my property and my honour, if he can adduce legal evidence of its truth.

This explanation I owe to myself, and to my children, as in Vienna I could obtain no equitable satisfaction.

The emperor was as well convinced of the verity as the public: but he could not punish a field-marshal as a liar; still less could he brand the whole military bench with the severe reproof of inconsiderate precipitancy, or despotic contempt of the laws. Thus was I the victim of policy and overweening power; and as I am wont to manage no one, where the rights, the honour, the safety of the best of citizens may

be invaded with impunity; as the most enlightened monarch is unable to protect them against an association, that is not noble-minded enough honourably to repeal what has been determined, probably, by party-spirit or imbecility; nothing was left for me but to give way to a power I could not resist.

In a firm tone, therefore, I demanded public satisfaction, or my discharge, cheerfully renouncing my military pension of nine hundred florins, together with my rank; and claimed the bond I had signed on compulsion; declaring, that I would spend the remainder of my days as I pleased, in perfect independence, either in the austrian dominions, or out of them, without requiring the permission of any one, and without owing obedience to any military superior.

A report of this was made, and I

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received the following decree from the war office, to which as paramount I had made application:

“ His majesty grants major baron Trenck, agreeably to his request, leave to resign his post of major, without signing the obligation usual on such occasions; and resolves to give him back the bond he entered into to quit the profession of letters; to increase the pension he has hitherto enjoyed from nine hundred florins to fifteen hundred; and to leave the same to his wife and children personally, that they may enjoy it in his majesty's territories.

“ Whereby baron Trenck is free to cultivate the sciences; at the same time the above mentioned bond to quit writing is restored; and it is farther declared, that his wife and daughter are to receive the fore-mentioned pension of fifteen hun-

dred florins a year, at the military pay-office, from the 18th of this present month of october, being the day of the date of his majesty's resolution, the mother giving her receipt for the same.

“Vienna: the 18th. of october: 1791.

“Kinsky.

v. Orlandini.

“To Frederic Baron Trenck.”

Could any one receive a much more honourable dismissal? And does not this show the justice and kindness of the emperor's sentiments towards me? When I demanded my discharge, and proudly renounced my pension, he increased it, and gave it to my children. This is an evident proof, that he was well inclined towards me, though situated as he was he could do nothing for me openly, without offending the hungarian clergy, whom he had

reason

reason still to treat with caution. It was imagined, however, that I would not have ventured to write so much at the diet, if I had not been sure of secret protection. Add to this, so many complaints were made, and so many informations given, that the monarch could not well do less than enjoin me silence, or command me back to Vienna: but as neither of these took place to the termination of the diet, no one doubted of the political connivance of the court, and deemed me an instrument employed by Leopold to effect his purposes. He durst not yet, therefore, publicly protect or reward me: and though he had solemnly promised me, at least to restore what the treasury had actually received from the sale of the Trenck estates, and gave me leave to proceed against the present possessor accord-

ing to the laws of Hungary; though he had assured me, that, on the division of the fiscal estates in the Banat, I should receive an equivalent for what I had lost; he remained undecided, and postponed the performance of his promises, till a speedy death bereft him of the power.

Thus in all my undertakings was I the sport of my untoward fate! Often had it fixed me apparently secure on the pinnacle of hope; and in a moment I found myself obliged to struggle anew against want and persecution. Under Frederic the great my prospects were most splendid: when slander and precipitancy quickly reversed the scene. Maria Theresa mistrusted me, because I did not go to mass. Frederic's policy led him to avail himself of the occasion, and his wellpaid spies at Vienna

Vienna contrived to keep me in idleness, that I might do him no injury. In her last days she discovered, that she had been mistaken with respect to me, and had given up my estates to injustice and rapine. She was on the point of recompensing me, but died without having in her whole life bestowed the smallest benefit on me, though I had been a victim to her service, as I have related in the former part of my history truly and without reserve. In Russia the road to fortune lay open to me; when the prussian ambassador Golz, by the command of his court, totally obstructed it, and forced me back afresh into the wilderness of sorrow. The emperor Joseph sought me, and found a downright honest man, who told him the plain truth, and predicted all the consequences of his

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inconsiderate undertakings. Thus I was not a man for him, or he for me; I kept myself as far as possible from him; I sought justice, but found it not; and I could dispense with titles, or a prince's favour. Much, however, I laboured for him, both bodily and mentally: but he was suspicious, and did nothing for me, and too late discovered, that I could have rendered him considerable service. He died by me unlamented.

Leopold ascended the throne. I knew him well: he gave me his esteem, and won my heart, and my whole confidence. What I did for him, how zealously I sacrificed my own interests to serve him, I have here related without parade. A concatenation of events and circumstances alone prevented his rewarding me. Indecision retarded the

the fulfilment of his promises; and he died when I thought myself at the goal of my hopes.

Wearied out with contests, discouraged by experience, and capable of great purposes, I departed from Vienna, where an honest man has nothing but ingratitude and persecution to expect from the powerful many. I was too old to begin a fresh career with a young prince; and resolved to choose the state of perfect independency, where he who is thoroughly acquainted with the world may acquire fame, and the approbation of his fellow citizens.

Quitting this digression I resume the thread of my narrative.

When I could obtain no satisfaction for the gross illtreatment I had received from the military court, having sought justice in vain, I ap-

peared openly in public, and at the theatre. Every one stared at me with astonishment, for my enemies had spread a report that I had excited a rebellion in Hungary, been conveyed to Vienna chained hand and foot, and thence sent to the Spielberg for life. The very day, on the evening of which I was at the play, and held my head erect in the midst of my abject enemies, who wished me joy of my good fortune, a counsellor declared on his honour, in a private company, that he saw me shut up in the tower destined for the reception of lunatics; and the public papers had already incarcerated me as a traitor in the most fearful dungeon.

This was not all. Three days after this scene, which was so little to the credit of the knaves and blockheads of Vienna, I went to Zwerrbach,

back, to my wife and children. As I had given directions to the keeper of a coffee-house in my neighbourhood, to take my letters from the post-office, and to forward them to me, I had been surpris'd at receiving none. On my return I asked him the reason. His answer was, that one Grossinger had come to him in the name of the police, and had demanded of him all my letters with severe threats. Enraged at such a palpable offence, at a time when I had so honourably obtained my freedom, and certainly could not be an object of suspicion to any magistrate or any man of honour, I hastened to the director of the police, Mr. von Beer, who bears the character of an honest man; and demanded the infliction of due punishment on Grossinger, whom all Vienna knew to be an abandoned villain.]

Mr. von Beer seemed astonished, and desired of me a requisition in writing, that he might procure me full satisfaction, as the man was not of the number of the spies of the police, and had never received from it any such orders. A fortnight I waited for the determination, when, nothing having been done, I went to him a second time. Without stopping to hear what I had to say, he immediately began—I have given it the good for nothing fellow handsomely: I'll warrant he won't dare to play such a trick again.— I demanded his punishment, and again delivered my complaint in writing; but received no answer, and the fellow went unpunished.

Is not this a palpable instance of german tyranny? What honest man is secure of his life, his honour, his freedom, his property, where

where magistrates can protect the perpetrators of such acts as endanger the safety of the best citizens? And this happened during the reign of the most just and excellent Leopold.

To him I finally went, and found him gracious as usual. His mind was agitated and vexed, as he knew me well, and was conscious that my zeal for him had brought on me this persecution.

My precipitancy alone he blamed, in demanding from the war-office my discharge, which he could not refuse: at the same time assuring me of his compassion, and future favour, especially for my children, and desiring me to wait a more favourable opportunity, when his hands would be more at liberty to do good than at present.

On my reminding him of his promise,

mise, to indemnify my losses by estates in the Bannat, he said: have patience: it shall certainly be done, but cannot at present, for the hungarian clergy, your grand enemies, would thereby be confirmed in their suspicion, that I approved your writing and conduct, and meant it as a reward for them. In short, he had me remain quiet on my estate, in expectation of some better opportunity, and had not the courage openly to do me justice.

Thus are the hands of princes tied, when ministers have once wriggled themselves into despotic power, and the clergy by their poisonous arts deter them from acting nobly. The wise Leopold was aware of the danger, and would certainly have diminished their power, and their usurped influence in the state, had not his reign been
so

so short. He knew the source of the evils that prevailed in his dominions. I have convincing proofs of his penetration, and of his schemes for attaining by circuitous means this exalted purpose, too perilous to be achieved by open attacks. I had reason also to expect my happiness from his hand ; whilst I saw an honest man on the throne, and resolved to observe the patience he had prescribed me. But my wayward fate bereft me of this great and humane sovereign, before he could accomplish his purposes with respect to me. Dreadful news for me, when my ear was assailed by the message of his death ! Reader, art thou a prey to despondency. Revolve in thy mind my history : learn from me to stand firm in misfortune : advance boldly to meet the danger : dispence with the fa-

your of the great : and seek resource in thyself. I braved the obstinacy of Frederic, and was the martyr of his regal power : I fought justice from the pious Theresa, and she demanded and received absolution where she was prevented from being just : Joseph promised me every thing, but I knew him, and from him I would ask nothing : for Leopold I did much, and of him obtained nothing, as he died too soon : from his successor I expect every thing, if, before my own death arrives, he be willing to reward my services to him and his predecessors : but I will not again begin, where I ought long ago to have left off.

Deprived of peace, and ever the butt of fanatics and perverters of justice, I lived a few weeks on my estate,

estate, and sent my wife to Vienna before Leopold died. He received her with every mark of distinction, which immediately excited envy; and recommended her himself to the empress, to whose disposal he had given all prebends and pensions on female foundations. Her majesty received her with particular courtesy, and desired her first lady of the bedchamber to remind her of my daughter as soon as any vacancy should happen.——Alas! she also is dead, and had in like manner done nothing. But I am too weary, I have been too often disappointed, to make new attempts; and will seek in foreign countries what I could never find in unfeeling Austria. Yet since I revere Leopold as my tutelary deity, even in the grave, though he never in fact bestowed on me any benefit

fit

fit adequate to the services I performed; it is a duty incumbent on me to proclaim him truly to the world, such as I proved him, such as from my conscience I can aver he was.

The inclinations, the temper, the sentiments, the qualities of Leopold were diametrically opposite to those of his brother Joseph. He was indeed a man. As a monarch he was framed by nature, he was fashioned by art, to render his people happy, and to dispense peace and tranquillity to every cottage. To this his will ever inclined: but his abilities, though far above mediocrity, were not of the first class. Hastiness of determination deprived him not of the steadiness of a legislator; and, possessing a sound judgment, the government of the small state of Tuscany

Tuscany prepared him for enterprises more important.

Every exalted action was congenial to his feeling mind: but within the narrow confines of Florence he would know every thing, and had sufficient time to attend to things of little moment; whence in the more ample boundaries of Vienna he augmented his labour by objects that a great monarch should leave to his servants. The informations of secret spies in private societies, which afford opportunity for slander to administer its envenomed cup, were not permitted to assail his throne.

True it is, that on his arrival he threw into the fire, without reading them, whole packets of accusations, which his predecessor had preserved for his favourite amusement. True it is that Joseph left behind
him

him a black book, in which were entered the names of all who were to be at some future period objects of punishment, or to be for ever excluded from serving the state: equally true, that the heir of Leopold snatched at it, and would have read it, had not his noble-minded father torn it from his hand, and thrown it into the fire, with the evermemorable words: "neither you nor I must know the contents."

What an amiable feature in the character of a monarch! From such an one his subjects had no arbitrary exertion of power to fear. Yet his officers of justice leagued together found means to lay restraints on his benevolent designs, by administering proper doses of alarm or suspicion, and to throw a veil over their wonted ministerial tyranny.

No

No monarch is omniscient. From the centre of an extensive territory, no human eye can dart its beams to every point of the circumference, with sufficient force to penetrate the clouds in which artifice envelopes truth. Thus to guile I fell a victim. Well as Leopold knew my heart and my good-will, he could not openly show mistrust of the combined multitude of priests, nobles, and lawyers, and was obliged at least to appear to believe what they exhibited in a false light. Suffice it he saw more clearly than was generally supposed, and had his life been longer, would have shown in due time, that he was not so easy to be led as many imagined. Unfortunately he mounted the throne at a period when Joseph had flung every thing into confusion and uproar: his dominions were a perfect chaos.

Bra-

Brabant had already separated itself from them, and was lost; and all his other provinces were ripe for revolt. By the precipitancy of his decrees, his predecessor had irritated all his subjects, and produced universal tumult: discontent had reached its summit. This he found, and frustrated all the schemes of his enemies.

The clergy had excited an insurrection in Brabant, and that fine province was already gone. Hungary was in a similar situation; and the fealty of Bohemia was in a tottering state. The turkish war had exhausted the treasury, and ruined the army; and a scanty harvest threatened with famine a discontented and truly injured people. On the other hand, the formidable armies of Prussia were already on the frontiers, prepared to give the monarchy its deadly

deadly blow. Never was Austria in a state so alarming as at this period. The prudence of Leopold, his timely condescension, and his sagacious policy, alone found means to ward off the threatening peril. He won the hearts, the confidence of the hungarians; and concluded the peace of Reichenbach, on terms that can be blamed only by those who are ignorant of the state of Austria at the time.

This step changed the scene throughout Europe. Peace ensued on all sides. Seceded Brabant returned to its duty. The hungarians listened to Leopold, and, though they murmured, submitted to his commands. The power of their ambitious nobles was curtailed. He directed the coronation to be performed at Presburg, which they would have had take place at Buda:

his

his mild conduct rendered his sway unfelt : and he so won the hearts of that factious people, that they are now more than ever inclined to spend their lives and properties for a good king. This was certainly a master-stroke of fine policy.

A peace with Turkey followed, as it was not the wish of Leopold to conquer unpeopled deserts. Greatly too as the designs of Prussia and Austria militated against each other, he found means to accord the interests of both monarchies, and promote the fraternity of the german states.

Not less memorable in the eyes of posterity, than astonishing to contemporaries, will appear this epoch, suspicious as the prussian patriots are of the means by which a supposed impossibility was accomplished.

A certain minister has censured
me

me with much bitterness, as having contributed greatly to this peace, by my influence on the monarch, and by sinister means. By future generations I shall be judged: and farther on I shall submit more of these weighty reproaches to the opinion of every honest reader. At present, I shall pursue my delineation of a monarch, whose ashes I revere, as he deserves the grateful remembrance of every true-hearted german, and his prudence prevented the effusion of much teutonic blood.

Uniform in his conduct, as he was the father of his family, he was the father of his people. He had read much, and reflected deeply. His plans he digested maturely, and carried into execution with coolness. His firmness was unshaken in the greatest perils. Benevolent to the oppressed, when offended he was by

no means implacable. The goodness of his heart gave soul to his actions; and even when he was seduced into arbitrary deeds, never monarch thought more nobly. His numerous yet just pensions, which he willingly conferred only on those who needed assistance, proved his exalted sentiments; and that he knew how to value merit and science, no one will doubt that has observed his conduct.

He never gave way to the dangerous workings of anger, though his temper seemed inclined to hastiness; neither inexorable, nor revengeful, he was always easy to be appeased. In reading instructive books he took pleasure; thirst of knowledge kept pace with the soundness of his judgment. Grave, when circumstances demanded gravity, his social behaviour was always engaging and affable;

fable; and he willingly put off the reserved and imperious aspect of majesty, for the smile of complacence. His palace was free of access to all the oppressed, without distinction of rank: and, though the never-satisfied people of Vienna complained, that he was more bountiful of consolation than of assistance, he certainly did much real good, and listened with patience to every one's complaint. Impossible, indeed, was it for him to satisfy all; the burden was too heavy, the investigation would have exacted too much time: he was obliged, therefore, to refer many petitions to the established courts, which continued to act in the usual mode, and in respect to justice and noble-mindedness differed widely from their master. Hence many had reason to sigh, whose griefs he would have removed

in time, had he been more than man. He beheld the oppression of his people, and laboured in secret to bind the hands of petty tyrants, and establish a due equilibrium between the different classes. The time of accomplishing this important enterprise, however, remained at a distance: whilst the power of the priesthood was so intimately interwoven with that of the nobility, and the national character had been depraved through his predecessor's weakness.

In general, whatever way he turned himself to procure assistance, he found true patriotism extinct: as the complying disposition and excessive good-nature of Theresa had cherished impostors, sharks, knaves, and traffickers in indulgences, who, uniting together for protection, preyed

preyed on the very vitals of the state with impunity.

Difficult, nay impossible, is it for a prince to find remedies for an evil become inveterate by continuance; and few are willing, few are capable, of sacrificing their own interest to the general good. This Leopold saw, and felt in its full force. By so much the more grievous to him was the burden of government: yet, stedfast in his purposes, he would have made considerable advances in the internal regulations of the state, had he not been too much occupied by external affairs, that retarded the establishment of a necessary and durable peace, and had not an early death frustrated all his schemes. To his worthy successor he left his example, his princely virtues, his model, according to which he should restore the decayed fabrick of the

austrian monarchy. It requires
 perseverance, with herculean pow-
 ers; yet I know him so well, that I
 dare presage the best effects. From
 my heart I wish him good counsel-
 lers, a wise choice, honest assistants,
 and patience, steadfastness, health,
 power, and good-fortune to attain
 the noblest purposes of a worthy mo-
 narch. He knows me: and during
 his reign my children will be confi-
 dered as the offspring of a man who
 was never idle when an opportunity
 offered of rendering service to Aus-
 tria. Reason and local knowledge,
 my domestic wants and paternal
 duty, lead me to wander in foreign
 countries only till the young mo-
 narch shall seek men who will rea-
 dily labour for him without the sti-
 mulus of self-interest, or the desire
 of titles. That I am as little defi-

cient. These important works

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cient in inclination as in ability, he is indubitably convinced.

Leopold was a sincere christian, though he had examined and perfectly knew the abuses that had crept into religion. From all mystical superstition he was far removed; yet found it necessary to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the times, whilst the policy of Rome occupied itself in hoodwinking the people, and the ambition of the hierarchy knew how to bind the hands of the most prudent prince. By moderation, and the concealment of his real designs, he certainly would have accomplished the aim of a true father of his country. The enormous incomes of the bishops, the devouring swarm of monks, and the palsy spirit of fanaticism, he would inevitably have by degrees diminished. These important works,

however, he was obliged to leave to the inheritor of his throne. Heaven grant, that he may not be lukewarm in the execution, or deterred from their pursuit; and that jesuitism, which has crept in amongst the ministers and nobility, may never more lift its head, to carry us back to the times of the croisades, of a Sixtus, or of a Borgia. That the sentiments of the emperor, of whom we were so soon bereft, were just as I have here delineated them, I pledge myself to my readers on my word of honour. For all that I published in Hungary he read in manuscript, and approved, yet was so circumstanced, that he could only say:

“Trenck, go on with your labours alone. Beware of sword and poison. I cannot at present take you openly under my protection; but

but I will not let you go un-
warded."

Thus must a king speak, who is
obliged to give way to deep-rooted
prejudices, and priestly rancour:
and such is the fate of every coun-
try where fanaticism can plant
her bloody standard. I trust that
Brabant will serve as a warning to
all sovereigns; and from the pre-
sent commotions in Europe I ex-
pect either a general spread of light
amongst the people, or that they will
fall back into a state of the pro-
foundest darkness. Heaven prosper
the swords of them who have drawn
them for the rights and happiness of
mankind; and overturn the deeplaid
schemes of fanaticism! On this
depend the welfare of nations, and
the true glory of beneficent princes,
for which alone I would spend the
last drop of my blood in the field

of battle, if younger soldiers would give me leave. That the diffusion of knowledge occasioned the disturbances in France, is an erroneous supposition. I was a diligent observer of every spring of the evil. The oppression of the people, the concatenated multitude of noble and clerical leeches who sucked their very blood, compelled those to revolt who had nothing but their poverty to lose : and a similar fate threatens every land where the rulers wish to govern with whips and scourges, a mode now practicable only amongst asiatic slaves. In a country where every one has reason to be satisfied with his condition ; where ministers cannot tyrannise, and the nobles have not assumed an exclusive right to all places of honour and profit ; where useful citizens are not doomed to

contempt and inaction, but merit and talents may lift up their heads; where priests have not monopolized the education of youth; and where freedom of thinking, freedom of inquiry are permitted; no propagation of knowledge can be dangerous, no confederacies for effecting a revolution are to be feared. Only the prince who delights in war, only he who deals not justice with an equal hand to all descriptions of men, finds in himself reason for suspicion, and trembles at the proceedings of France. In the french alone we find an instance of a people, who have made a general insurrection in which the clergy had no hand. These are the most dangerous persons in a nation that has cause to be discontented. But woe to the monarch, who believes that he is in

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danger,

danger, if the interests of the church be not connected with his own. He will find, that he must bear the hierarchical yoke, and leave his ignorant deceived people unprotected in the arbitrary hands of priests, if he will merit absolution, and hope a seat in heaven.

Leopold was certainly in no danger as he lived like a father amongst his children. But he who lives like a mogul at a distance from them, where he cannot hear their sighs, and suffers vizirs to think and act in his stead, may justly tremble when the oppressed murmur. And he who will domineer over the whole world, who is constantly on the watch to enlarge his territories at the expence of his neighbours, and who would accustom his peaceable subjects to acts of rapine, should never be permitted

to

to sully a throne that ought to be filled by the father of his people. Whilst the pages of history are blurred with the consequences of such misrule, the people, warned by example, should dispose of him in a madhouse: then would the cause of revolutions be torn up by the roots.

The peaceable soul of Leopold deserves monuments from the gratitude of posterity. He would have made not only his own states, but all Europe happy, and eradicated every germ of discord. A protector of the fine arts, a promoter of science, inclined from his youth to instructive reading, and fond of the society of honest, free, and enlightened men; raise altars to his memory, ye sons of the muses, for ye have lost a father. He is dead: revere the remains, revere the memory, of a man who was worthy
of

of the sceptre. Weep over his urn, ye honest citizens of the austrian states. Never before lost ye such a master: never before, perhaps, deserved ye such an one. At his coronation I chanted his praise: over his grave I stood dumb with affliction. Him alone I served with a warm heart: and I repent it not, though instead of being rewarded as I deserved, I was the victim of his acquiescence and indetermina-
tion.

Leopold possessed almost every quality that could promote the welfare of his contemporaries, or deserve the veneration of posterity. As a proof of his exalted sentiments, I will relate only what follows. Seeing and conversing with him often, as he granted me free access, once said to him:—Your majesty's

majesty's wants and advantages in state affairs I know well, from an experience of three and forty years, during which I have examined every thing with prying eyes. I would impart to it my remarks on objects that are carefully concealed from a monarch's sight, and in pointing out the wasps nest amongst the hives of industrious bees, render a service that will remain after I am no more.

The emperor gave me permission to write the naked truth without reserve. I did so: and delivered to him a dissertation of twelve sheets.

A week after this I waited on him, he received me graciously, went into his closet, took out my manuscript, and, clapping me on the shoulder, returned it with these words: thus should every man at court write. — At the same time he ordered me to give it to the archduke Francis,
his

his heir, but not to tell him, that he had previously seen it.

How strong a proof of an enlightened and excellent mind in a prince!

He conversed with me near two hours, in a confidential manner, on the whole contents of my paper, and consequently had in so short a time read it through with attention. On so affecting an occasion who could be more loyal than I? My secrets were disclosed, and I perceived their effects in his words and looks. I returned home full of spirits; wrote a short dedication in verse to my paper; and the next day, april the 8th, 1790, presented it to the young prince.

Whether the present monarch made any use of this writing, and weighed me in a just scale, I shall soon have occasion to observe. Its

impor-

important contents, however, shall remain a secret while I live, and not be read till I am no more. They would too clearly expose the state of his dominions; and, greatly as I have been offended, I am not disposed to betray secrets that have been confided to me, or even that I have myself discovered. Suffice it, that he said as prince, I should find him my friend; as king, a just master. How often has he pitied me, when I complained to him of oppression! Now he has the power in his hands, he may, if he please, redress my complaints. When he does, he will receive my thanks, he will receive my praise. May he make good to my children, what his predecessors owe me: for myself I want nothing, I will ask nothing: for I have been too often disappointed, and have learnt from experience, that an heir to a throne can promise what when he wields the

the

the sceptre he will forget to perform. On this account have I remained so long at a distance from court, purposing not to quit my retirement till I am called, and till the value of the political paper above mentioned is proved and known.

That his praiseworthy father placed much confidence in me, and conversed with me frequently, and that I did much for him, he is well aware. His heart is noble; as a monarch therefore he will deal by me, as he felt as a prince: much then have I to hope, if I would seek his favour for my right. Of Leopold I will never complain, that he left me unrepaired for the persecutions I experienced from his courts of justice: his situation required circumspection, and his power was not sufficiently established for him to protect,

amid the general corruption of Vienna, martyrs to the truth like me.

Under his reign, the counsellor Sonnenfels, learned and esteemed in Vienna alone, durst no longer maintain from a public chair, that a subject has no property. During that of his predecessors he was a man of celebrity, whilst he asserted in his publications, that Prussia was not in a state to defend itself against the arms of Joseph. Every enlightened, every honest man, should detest such professors, who preach despotism to gain titles. Joseph employed him as a spy of the police. Leopold despised him, as from his feathers he knew the bird: and by Francis he who has sinned against the rights of the people, and waged open war with sound reason, will never be honoured.

Whatever changes have taken place

place in the government, I have always written and spoken in the same style. Neither my language nor my principles have ever changed. This is the praise of an honest author, this is the duty of an honest man, whom no princely power should be able to bend to its will.

This potion I owed to a man, on whom I wished to bestow the reward he merited from the weak, superficial, deluded inhabitants of Vienna.

The occurrence which I am now about to relate truly redounds perhaps to my honour, yet shows, that my fate ever holds a retrograde course, and lays me open to every possible stroke from those with whom I have to contend, till posterity shall say at my grave: here only Trenck found rest.

On my arrival at Berlin in 1787,
being

being received with particular tokens of esteem, and the monarch showing me distinguished marks of favour, I availed myself of the opportunity, to straiten the connexion between the prussian court and that I served; considering it the first duty of a truehearted german, to prevent if possible the shedding of his countrymen's blood. Conversing on the subject with the imperial ambassador, prince Reüs, he told me, that a negotiation would be impossible whilst the minister Hertzberg was at the helm. I persuaded him to establish an intercourse with the latter gentleman, and to converse with him not as a minister but as a private person, that they might become mutually better acquainted with each other; and was commissioned to bring this about with caution.

The

The wish of the imperial ambaffador I imparted to count Hertzberg. He was pleased with the propofal, but replied:

My house is befet with spies from all the ambaffadors: if prince Reufs were to vifit me, a connexion would be fufpected. Immediately letters would be fent off to Vienna, to irritate the wifsnapping emperor, who is always ready to fpeak with contempt of the king of Pruffia. His gibes would be quickly repeated to the latter, diftrufi increased, personal enmity on each fide ftrengthened, and every ftep towards a good understanding between them rendered vain; as there are fo many fates interefted in keeping Auftria and Pruffia eternally at variance.

On this I propofed a mean of carrying on a conference incognito at a third place, and obtained the count's

count's assent. The time and place being fixed, I repaired to prince Reuss. They met, to their mutual satisfaction; and both thanked me for a step that promised consequences of the utmost importance.

I now drew up a plan, for the gradual establishment of a more intimate union. It proposed.

1. Liberty for the subjects of each state to return to their native country.

2. To introduce the hungarian wines into Prussia, in opposition to the french, whilst on the other hand Hungary should admit the manufactures of Prussia; and to establish a free trade between Silesia and Bohemia.

This plan I took an opportunity of mentioning to the king himself. He referred me to his minister von Werder, in whose department it was.

was. And I can assure my reader, on my honour, that Frederic-William showed a strong inclination to further my proposal, cheerfully offering his hand to the alliance; and the minister found nothing to object.

Prince Reufs now intreated me to be secret, and observed, that our project would certainly be frustrated, if it came to the knowledge of the chancery at Vienna, and the prussian minister von Jacobi. He added: I will conclude the business alone with count Hertzberg at Berlin: I will then proceed to Vienna, speak to the emperor and tell him, that your zeal paved the way to this grand work.

The whole was now concluded, and the weighty question, which of the two courts should take the first step, decided; as the king, a friend to peace, found no difficulty in making

ing the propofals. Thefe were difpatched to the emperor, and remained nine weeks unanfwered.

I repaired to Vienna, haftened to the emperor, and had a conference with him.

He liftened to me with a sneer: at length his features were wrought into a fmile, and he faid:

What? is there any comparifon? I have three hundred thoufand men, and can prefcribe laws in Berlin. Such a king I will foon drive out of his feraglio. Then looking at me with fcorn, he added the remarkable words: you have obtained a penfion from the king. I wifh you joy of it. He does not know, however, that this fummer I fhall be at Conftantinople, and then we fhall talk in another tone.

He who knows Jofeph hears in thefe his words; and every one who

is acquainted with politics, every one who knows mankind, may judge of my thoughts on this occasion.

I beheld him with grief, shrugged my shoulders, returned home with a sigh, and resolved from that time not to see him again. To my friends I predicted the consequences; I spoke with more freedom than is usual at Vienna; and was laughed at for my pains.

Thus were all my honest endeavours disappointed, in a state where men are generally estimated according to their places, titles, and pretensions: and I found in modern days the confirmation of the old saying: the industrious bees make honey in vain, when mice are in the hive, and drones find protection.

The year following, as I returned from Paris, and had investigated the sources

sources of the brabantine revolution, I could not resist my inclination to fulfil the duty of a citizen, went to court, and foretold what would follow. I received for answer :

"Dalton will soon tie the rebellious mob to his horses tails, as the tatars do their prisoners. I will now show myself in earnest, and all will soon be quiet."

I replied :—If your majesty be sovereign of Brabant on new-years-day, I will forfeit my head from my shoulders.

This tone gave displeasure. He sneeringly smiled, and said :—you have no doubt learnt to speak and judge thus from your friend Hertzberg.

I uttered not another word ; sighed ; and within a month all my presages were verified.

On his deathbed he remembered

me; but for me did nothing. He died in a lamentable situation, and merited my reproaches: yet I pitied him, but still more his successor.

Leopold now ascended the throne beset with a multitude of princely cares. I sought and obtained access to him, as I have already mentioned, and was with him at least three times a week. In Vienna my unbounded love of truth was known; and my intimate acquaintance with the town and its inhabitants were equally notorious. I knew, too, that Trenck's having so much the ear of the new sovereign did not give satisfaction at Berlin. Cabals arose on all sides—I was watched, I was envied, and the plunderers of the state trembled with the apprehension that they should be unmasked.

At his arrival in his dominions, peace was the grand wish of the monarch,

monarch, that he might become the father of his justly offended subjects.

As the covention of Reichenbach took place, and I was so frequently seen at court during this period, it was supposed, both at Vienna and Berlin, that I had pointed out the means of effecting it.

On this subject any reader may think as he pleases. Never will I discover a secret intrusted to me, or what as a german patriot I have done to promote a paternal union amongst the people of Germany. Ostentation is by no means my hobby-horse. I might feel proud of the approbation of posterity, were I supposed to be an instrument of the peace of Reichenbach. But in my situation truth is dangerous, were it to be made public; and I will do injury to no one, that has contributed to so noble

ble a purpose as peace, and the gratification of the wish of Leopold. That others have ploughed with my heifer, is certainly true. Yet, as another has plumed himself in the reputation of a plan filched from me, by no one shall I be called to account for the means whereby the grand scheme was accomplished. I have received no present from the emperor, and alone remain poor, where others have mounted to wealth and honour on the ladder I had raised. Leopold is now dead, and cannot tell his successor, who probably, on principles like those of Joseph, is not satisfied with the convention, which saved Austria from destruction, who it was that opened the path for him, and has to wait for the praise he merits, till the effects of this important work are known and valued as they ought.

To

To excite the compassion of my readers, I must here disclose a secret, which, while it redounds to my honour, will render my implacable enemy a man much to be feared. Many, no doubt, will say: — as Trenck has already so often found what the favour of princes and ministerial rancour are capable of effecting, why does he rush into dangers, at which every one who knows the world must shudder? He only can preserve his quiet who remains an indifferent though attentive spectator: but he who endeavours to destroy the hornet's nest, will certainly be stung, be he ever so wary, and will not be pitied by those who appear in helmets to preserve themselves from fillips on the nose at court, where the nightingale must sing in his cage to drown the chirping of the sparrow joyous in his

freedom, and lap-dogs reclining on satin cushions eat the hare caught by the lank greyhound that pines with hunger at the door!

Yet let men think what they please, I blush at no good action; and only pity those who are deterred from the performance of such by my example.

The occurrence I was about here to make known to the world, was actually printed,—but, alas!—an intervening occasion, on which I was eagerly intreated to bury it in silence, lest it should bring persecution on my children, has induced me to cancel those sheets, and leave out a passage, which would have done much honour, and thrown considerable light on this history.

To times and circumstances, therefore, I must submit; hoping, that my reticence will pacify him,
who

who has demanded from my *integrity* this silence, which will considerably diminish the value of my history. In thus appealing to my honour, he attacked me on my weak side ; for from the threats of the powerful, I am not accustomed to shrink.

More deserving praise, undoubtedly, should I appear, were the papers I have in my hands laid before a candid world. I hope, however, that no one will stimulate me to publish what I have promised to consign to eternal secrecy.

The convention of Reichenbach frustrated the fairest opportunity Prussia ever had of reducing Austria to future insignificance. Its certainty was known to the enlightened few ; and they were consequently displeased with the promoters of peace : yet the short-sighted pride of Vienna

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rendered it as little satisfied with the condescension of Leopold.

Thus I lost favour on both sides, and actually suffered persecution, where still there was nothing but probability and conjecture against me. Time and posterity alone can estimate my worth in the grave, when the consequences of what is now passing shall be more clearly developed. Vanity was never my foible: yet would I willingly say something at least of this grand event, that the resolutions I made at Vienna and at Berlin may be justified, and the reason why I have no reward to expect from either court may be known. A change of rulers produces a change of systems. For Leopold I offered myself a sacrifice: he is dead; and his successor heeds not my sighs.

Wearied with never-ceasing conflicts,

flicts, and labours fruitless for myself
 alone, I chose decided independence,
 and quitting Vienna, paid a visit to
 Berlin. Here I found the cabals
 had taken the field against each
 other. The period was not favour-
 able to me—the worthy king was
 too strictly observed. My design,
 therefore, I postponed to a more
 fortunate opportunity, and presented
 him my youngest son for his service,
 whom, with the most gracious ex-
 pressions and assurances he appointed
 an officer in Werder's regiment of
 horse, in which his brother had al-
 ready served five years with honour
 and esteem. Should circumstances
 so turn out, that they both must
 suffer because I am their father, they
 will know how to follow my exam-
 ple, and prefer honourable freedom
 to the happiness of a slave. All
 honest men will be their friends and

protectors when I am no more ; and they will dread no ministerial persecutions, bend to no enemies of virtue, need no court favours, to pursue in youth the paths of integrity, and become worthy members of society, where to live, to act, and to think on the principles of Trenck are no more.

From Berlin I travelled to Hamburg, and had sufficient reason this time to keep myself incognito, whilst many eyes appeared to be directed towards me. As a free person indeed I could demand satisfaction of any one who gave me offence. Under William's sceptre the gates of the spandau bastille are shut against every victim to arbitrary power ; and I fear not him who wears a crown, if he dare infringe the rights of man. But who stands highest in the credit of the public will have been

been already remarked at Paris, where the academy of sciences, that had been intreated as much as possible to depreciate me and my writings, did just the contrary, blaming me only for reciting the praises of my secret enemies, to such a degree as to excite a suspicion of flattery, in all my writings. Literary emulation shall never debase me to revenge and persecution, particularly where my conscience tells me that my silence proceeds from greatness of mind. The private individual seldom experiences justice; but he who is conscious of his own internal worth, will be incapable of servile flattery.

If a few of their excellencies should believe, that from zeal to the emperor Leopold, and for the welfare of Germany, I contributed somewhat to the peace of Reichenbach,

bach, which frustrated many contrary schemes, that would have involved in discord two benevolent princes, and deluged their country with blood; the ascription of so commendable an act does me no small honour, though the paying it me publicly would redound more to the credit of their ministerial wisdom. In this case, however, I should have a claim to the greater part of those rewards and presents obtained by those who have ploughed with my heifer.

From this true, downright german narrative my readers may infer, that fate has not ceased to persecute me, and that the most upright conduct is least known, and least rewarded.

Enough! literature is now my hobby horse, on which the Belisarius of Austria and Prussia will
pro-

probably prance throughout Europe, those parts of it excepted where fire and faggot threaten heretics like me; till he finds some corner secure from ministerial rancour and prelatical vengeance, whence the thundering voice of truth may pierce with resounding echoes the remotest region of the atmosphere, and crowned with conviction subside into gentle murmurs purling on his ear, when the rigid censor backed by his satellites has threatened it with fetters in vain.

It is far from unlikely, therefore, that the public will yet be greeted with a numerous progeny from my fertile pen. In happy Denmark the press is still free to enlighten and instruct the people. May heaven bless and reward the prince who confirms to his subjects the rights of man. But should sovereign com-
mands

mands operate universally throughout Germany to bring back the times of the croisades, I will learn the language of savages, and write for the hurons the biography of our european monarchs, and ministers of state, in plain honest words; and dispatch my faithful pictures to the inquisition at Rome and Madrid, where they may apply who wish to have true copies of them.

God, who has hitherto permitted me amidst a thousand perils to act the part of an honest man, and a real martyr to the truth, protect and strengthen me in the last scene of my tragedy, and let not my powers fail where I meet with obstacles insurmountable!

To you friends of humankind, who have not read my history unmoved, I commend my children, when

I am stretched on the field. In the
grave I shall be deaf to the voice
of fame : my head is gray ; and
I have had reason to imprecate each
rising sun, that sheds its beams on
so many knaves. O were this the
last day of my beholding them !
My inquisitive eye has long been
weary of viewing mankind, and the
occurrences of this world ; and he
who has been like me exposed to
the unabated ardour of the sun of
fate's torrid rays must wish for re-
pose in the shades of death.

I am interested in the history of the
grave I shall be glad to give
you. I have had a great deal of
SUPPLEMENT

information that I have been able to
to many knives. The first was the
last day of my birthday. I was
My mother was very kind to
wrote of viewing the graves and the
occurrences of this world; and the
who has been like me expected to
the unpaired ardor of the day of
LIEUTENANT SCHELL
this world the most of the world
both in the shades of death.

In the third volume of my history
I described this man as an original
I mentioned his death, and infer-
ed his farewell letter, in which
he imparted to me his last resolves.
I even wrote to his captain, to
inquire the circumstances of his
death.

(404)

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

LIEUTENANT SCHELL.

In the third volume of my history I described this man as an original. I mentioned his death, and inserted his farewell letter, in which he imparted to me his last resolves. I even wrote to his captain, to inquire the circumstances of his death,

death, and received from him its confirmation.

How much was I astonished, when, in 1790, I received at Paris from this supposed dead man the following epistle!

Friend!

When thou receivest this letter from a man, whom thou hast for seventeen years imagined to be in the grave :——thou wilt undoubtedly be surpris'd.——Receive now an explanation of this strange miracle.

An officer of our regiment, returning from Switzerland, where he had been on furlough, brought to Novara thy printed history, in which thou hast not forgotten mine. In it I am depicted in such true colours, that it appears thou hast little tenderness for my honour even in the grave; a chimera, that troubles

bles me little; still less does it excite me to reproach.

But, dearest friend, thou hast now stripped off my mask, and the whole garrison knows him, who had for six and thirty years concealed himself from their curiosity. To me this discovery is far from pleasing: but with thee I am not on that account angry. The truth was written by thee, when thou reckonedst me among the dead; and they who are actually dead concern themselves not with reading, or with the judgment posterity may pass on them. For thy mistake I can accuse no one but myself, and I am alone the cause, that things have been revealed, which are highly prejudicial to me in my present situation.

I was not ignorant, that justice was refused thee at Vienna,
and

and that thine enemies had oppressed and reduced thee to poverty. During my residence at Aix, I perceived plainly, that I was a burden to thee, and that thy domestic wants demanded thy laborious exertions. Thy goodness to me I had experienced : I was on every occasion assisted, and never forsaken by thee. In Alexandria I was but a poor subaltern. Hadst thou supposed me to be amongst the living, thy inability to support me would have pained thy noble mind, and thy children would have suffered, that I might have had assistance. This alone determined me to deceive thee, and to make thee believe, that being in the grave my wants were at an end. On this account, I imparted to thee my final resolution, as a philosopher

pher to leave a world, that could have no charms for either of us.

Of my captain thou inquiredst about my death; and I prevailed on him by my intreaties to countenance the deception. Thus thou art justified to me, as I am assuredly in thine eyes, for thy Schell thou hast proved.

As my heart and my curiosity still led me to observe thee, I requested a friend at Aix to give me from time to time accounts of thee; and those I received contributed little to my satisfaction. From princes thou hast never found justice; and thy propensity to writing, thy zeal for truth, augmented the rage of thine enemies, who thought themselves thereby injured, and persecuted thee on that account with redoubled animosity. Such insects are not tamed by the firmness and zeal of a Trenck.

I re-

I remained silent, therefore, till I learnt thy success at Berlin. On this I congratulate thee from my heart ; and rejoice with all who know true worth, and are capable of valuing thy merit.

At the age of seventy-four I am at length, for the fourth time, an orderly ensign. Thus neither of us has advanced much in the military line : but thou wilt join with me in laughing at things of so little moment. He who could give a Trenck in his sixty-fifth year the paltry rank of major is more to be pitied than thou art : and I can never expect a colonel's commission from one who could make the gray-haired Schell an ensign. Certainly, my friend, thou and I concern ourselves little about such trifles as titles, or things that depend on the arbitrary will of others : but thou couldst not refrain
from

from laughter, wert thou to see Schell, now bent with age, parading in an ensign's uniform. This, however, fortune has not thought proper to bring about. Yet in every situation, in every circumstance, I have been content; and I now feel greater cause to be so than ever, since I have heard good accounts of thee.

I am indebted to my captain the money he furnished for my equipment. If the sale of our history have produced thee any profit, send me my share for the few pages filled by my adventures, that I may satisfy my benefactor: if, however, thou have not so much left, think not of it.

The perusal of our travels through Poland has given me much pleasure: I have found thee again in thy style. At length some of thine enemies have met their reward. If any

one more powerful remain, even though he wear a crown, thou knowest me. I have nothing to lose, and would die smiling by his side, if thou but give me the hint. My parents, my relations, are all in the grave; I, therefore, am restrained by no duties. Thou art a father; thou must live, endure, and care for others. Give me speedily an account of thy present situation. This letter will excite thy amazement. Thou hast innocently deceived the public, in announcing to it my death. But, my friend, the public concerns itself little whether a Schell or a Lesch exist, or ever did exist; or whether he prance about on a white horse in heaven, or cut capers under the lash of Satan's whip.

Send me two copies of thy history : in it I shall read my adventures with indifference, thine with rapture and admira-

admiration. Since the passions have ceased to assail me, my days and years glide by like a murmuring stream. My occupations are uniform : my health, my frame of body, my disposition of mind, and my feelings, are just those of a hail old man. I now for the first time enjoy existence, and feel that I live. By the whole regiment I am loved and esteemed : by no one am I envied, in no one do I find an enemy. I have no one in the world to disturb me in the performance of my duties ; no one who will want me when I am no more. If thou be as happy as I actually am, delay not to write a letter that will revive me. I expect it, I eagerly long for it, and ever remain the old LESCH ; but, since thou hast raised me from the dead, at present thy tried friend,

Navara, April, 1790.

SHELL.

My answer to the preceding letter.

Paris, May 16, 1790.

Still, then, dear Schell, art thou an actor on this mundane stage! I thought myself certain, that thou hadst already awaited the resurrection of the dead for seventeen years longer than I; and since that time, no smiling day has passed without my remembering thee, and honouring thy ashes.

Worthy man! thou hast deceived me, from overstrained generosity. Of such actions thou alone art capable: but I confess to thee, that, on breaking the seal of thy letter, a sacred tremor seized me, at again finding a friend like thee, who art such an honour to the name of friendship.—Yes, dear Schell, with open arms I receive thee, restored to me from the grave. These arms, that

that bore thee from Glatz to Brau-
 nau, are ever ready to receive thee,
 dearer to me than Pylades to Orestes.
 At all times wert thou welcome to
 me ; doubly welcome now, when I
 am in circumstances to serve thee,
 without injury to myself.

The account of thy life, given in
 my history, most certainly was not
 calculated to give thee pleasure :
 but why wouldst thou live and die
 in secret, and give thyself out for
 dead ? Thou art assured, that thy
 Trenck would not at his resurrec-
 tion have left thee in the grave.
 Sure it is, that I spared thee not,
 and divulged thy secrets : but, sup-
 posing thee dead, I could not ask
 thy consent. Yet, when frankly
 confessing thy faults, I praised thy
 inimitable virtues to my contempo-
 raries, and thy posterity, know, that

T 3

tears

tears of sorrow mingled with the ink
wherewith I wrote thy name.

Thus it is now known in Sardinia, that thou art the Schell whom I have delineated. Forgive it, dearest friend : to thyself alone it is imputable : by thee was torn the veil that concealed thy failings and thy virtues. Unquestionably many passages in thy history I would not have written, had I supposed it possible, that thou couldst still be in the land of the living. But I knew, that thou, like me, wert too much superior to prejudice, to fancy bloom in the withered flower. I knew, that to thee posthumous renown was a matter of indifference ; and that thou hadst scrutinised praise and blame with the eye of a philosopher. On this account, I spared thee not, where shades contrast the lights. For my part, I give thee leave to say, that I have been profuse in embellishing

lishing thy legend, to set off to advantage the history of my own martyrdom.—Hence, perhaps, we may both receive the honour of canonisation.

At thy letter I am little disturbed, since thou art indifferent to every thing that concerns Schell. Lefsch undoubtedly ceases not to be Lefsch: else would the truth of Trenck's adventures begin to be doubted, in which I was justified by a long silence to disclose what might be displeasing to the living Schell. But, in short, I have done thee no essential injury. All my readers pity, admire, and esteem thee; and, if ever thou come to France, thou wilt there find a people endued with noble sentiments, who honour in thee the hero of friendship; and would willingly ameliorate thy fate. Thy fault, imprudence, the total contempt of self-interest was a noble, bold, or

perhaps rash undertaking, that invited thee all this injured thyself alone. Every honest man, every one who knows the human heart, will do thee justice ; and would willingly see the gray-headed Schell in a more prosperous situation than that of an orderly ensign.

For thy satisfaction, too, I must relate a circumstance, which testifies the greatness of William's mind. I was desired to give him thy history. Attention illumined his benevolent features, and he asked with eagerness—is that singular man yet alive?—No, sire, was my answer.—To which, with the most affectionate warmth, he replied,—were he still living, I would gladly see him at Berlin.—Judge, whether I have not cause to revere him.

In thy next letter, which I ardently expect, write me a more particular account of thy present
situ-

situation. Canst thou quit thy friends, and thy accustomed mode of life in Italy, and reside with me? In the mean time I remit thee thy share of the profits of our history. This thou canst not refuse: it comes to thee not from Trenck, but from the public. I only restore thee what I kept for myself believing thee dead.

My present situation at Paris, is too turbulent for a philosopher. Were vanity my foible, I must here be happier than a Cæsar. Triumph every where attends my steps, and France makes me forget all my sufferings. Here the people think nobly, freely, and magnanimously. Soon will the fetters be broken, and events succeed, that must astonish all Europe, and inspire the wish of imitation. I regret nothing but the years I have wasted in Austria.

There

There I did much, and lost all: ingratitude was my reward, and never has any thing been done there for me. Still am I contending in vain against the plunderers of my property; and against the mean principles and prejudices of my plodding, stupid, and malevolent fellow-citizens. The greatest misfortune of all is, that I must leave my well-disposed children in a climate of all the most dangerous to virtue and honesty, fettered as I am by the smallness of that portion of my property which I have been able to snatch from the gripe of speculation. I have only the duties of a father to fulfil, however; for in a despotic country a citizen has no duties. From every appearance, I have nothing to hope. My great estates are gone. I have no cares but for those whom I have called
into

into a melancholy existence : and these prevent my enjoyment of the victory I have at length obtained, in the general approbation of my conduct.

Dear Schell, we now approach the last scene of the parts we have had to act : and assuredly I shall not be hissed off the stage by the just and discerning amongst the audience. In general I have been approved, admired, and pitied : but I have received no support. None but Britons throw their purses on the stage to good actors* : other nations content themselves with clapping and applauding them. Throughout my whole life I have found only *one* Schell. Many have been assisted

* Baron Trenck appears to have visited Bartholomew fair : as we believe this is not practised on any british theatres, except those of Smithfield. T.

by me in their necessities: but from the great, who should console, enrich, and reward those who deserve it, I have never received any thing.

Yet I repent neither; nor does either disturb my peace: what is necessary I know how to earn; with what is superfluous I can dispense.

Of the estates ravished from us in Hungary my children will not easily recover any part, if following my example they openly attack fraud with the arms of justice alone; and like me they shall never cringe to obtain them. Thou, my dear Schell, hast nothing but thy own wants to claim thy cares. Transfer them to me. Thou knowest my heart; to satisfy them will be my most pleasing occupation. My history has led thousands to pity thy fate: but of those thousands not one has dis-
bursed

buried a single penny to render it more comfortable. So thinks, so acts the world. Thou, however, art more happy in thy situation, than I am in mine; for I have the anxieties of a father. Let us finish our tragedy, without stooping to any harlequin tricks. Mine is performed at the theatres of London and Paris with applause; whilst I sit smiling as a spectator. When we have both ceased to act on the world's stage, I hope to have much conversation with thee behind the curtain, respecting the parts we have performed together; if souls can speak without tongues, lips, and muscles, and hear without auditory nerves.

Farewel!

Thy friend

TRENCK.

VOL. IV

U

Thus.

Thus my friend, whom I reported dead, is arisen from the grave, and now actually an apostolical ensign in a turinese garrison.

An avaricious bookseller of Paris has printed a life of Schell, and a volume of his poems, for the sake of getting money. I declare, however, on my honour, that Schell knows nothing of either; and that they are a hodge-podge of stupidity, calumny, and falsehood. His supposititious poems are the productions of some blockhead; and the whole is the compilation of a knave. In his book he has inserted this poor man's will, in which are bequeathed whole caskets of diamonds, stones of immense value, ample legacies, and vast sums of money. From my heart I wish that Schell were so wealthy; and that the patriarch of all ensigns could nurse his
old

old age on a convenient sofa, without having to care for the necessities of life, if he should become an invalid.

The worthy man is still alive, and they, who, affected by his fate, wish to comfort his old age, may find him at Turin. Schell wants no palace; he needs neither man-cook, nor valet de chambre: but at his time of life he deserves ease, and freedom from care. For riches he was never anxious: but he thought too little of the future, when the weight of years crushes the springs of activity, and the helpless destitute graybeard, without friend, without country, without support in his necessities, feels the pinch of want, and languishes in penury. The possibility that such may be his fate pains me to the heart, since it is not in my power to do for him what I would: and the

vil-

villainous bookseller, who has injured him by his calumnies, will certainly bestow on him no part of that money, which he has swindled from the purses of the curious parisiens. Our laws punish not such thieves, who enrich themselves at the expence of worthy men. From booksellers and scandalous pirates I myself have experienced no better fate.

T H E E N D .



